NEW MASSES

September 7, 1943 15¢ In Canada 20¢

AFTER QUEBEC

by the Editors

THE IMPASSE IN FOREIGN POLICY

by Joseph Starobin

LABOR GIRDS FOR THE POLLS

by Louis F. Budenz

AVIATION MEDICINE: NEW SPECIALTY

by Ralph Bailey

HOLLYWOOD LETTER

by N. A. Daniels

In NM Spotlight: "The Case of Sumner Welles"; "Labor and the Second Front"; "How to Beat Japan," by Colonel T.; Art Work by Hugo Gellert.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BETWEEN OURSELVES

We like nothing better than to start this page with an announcement of a "forthcoming" that will rouse our readers' anticipation of a future issue even before he has read the current one. And And we are particularly pleased to be able to announce it for next week: an article by Earl Browder on "Hitler's Uprisings in the United States." It is something you won't want to miss.

WE ASKED for it and we're getting it: candid opinion from our readers as to their likes and dislikes, preferences and requests, in regard to NM articles, format, etc. True, the responses thus far don't add to a tenth, or even a twentieth, of our audience; nevertheless, they offer something to think about—even if that something is little more than the reflection that hearing from *all* our readers seems a more worthwhile goal than ever. Perhaps we'll get out a questionnaire that will reach every one of you. We had something like that, you remember, in the pages of the magazine about two years ago. It wasn't enough, though. For one thing it had to be clipped out and mailed in, and lots of people protested that they didn't want to cut their copies of NM, which they kept for reference. Besides, the magazine has undergone some changes since then, so the questionnaire would have to be brought up to date.

IN THE letters we've received thus far, the greatest amount of pro-and-con refers to Spotlight, which was initiated last December. Two sample letters will give you an idea. The first is from a constant reader (for the past ten years) in Indiana:

"It [the Spotlight section] is to me the most useful and interesting part of the magazine. I'm a busy person, I want information on what's doing all over the world from week to week, and here is where I find it—in those first pages grouped under 'NM Spotlight.' I read them first, and then save my copy to go through other features at leisure.

"You do a wonderful job at skimming the cream off the week's news and presenting it all to us in a nice little container. It's good cream too—by which I mean that instead of presenting a collection of headline facts you *interpret* the stuff clearly and also print a lot of facts that can't be found in any papers to which I, at least, have access."

The other letter comes from a Manhattan subscriber:

"NEW MASSES seems to me to get better all the time in most of its departments, with the single exception of 'Spotlight.' As a matter of fact I never liked it much except as a novelty when it first started. You get too much of a rehash of things that have been printed in newspapers all week, and I've always felt that the distinguishing quality about NM was its uniqueness—its special articles and stories, etc. 'Spotlight' is crowding some of them out, without adding anything of its own.

"What's more, I like big illustrative displays, not the teensy spots which fill the Spotlight."

The controversy, if you can call it that, is between two groups of persons about equally divided numerically, whose opposing viewpoints are summed up in the two letters above. Without trying to weight the scales ourselves, we would like to say that the opponents of "Spotlight" tend to look on the whole section as strictly editorial summary, disregarding the fact that much of it is composed of such things as Colonel T.'s military analysis, Bruce Minton's Washington correspondence, "Around the World" features, and Claude Cockburn's London dispatch.

All of these were once printed in separate parts of the magazine, while the editorial comment was another department in itself. However, it seems to be just that change to which some of the "cons" object. As one of them puts it, "The magazine is too rigidly divided into three or four departments. It's as though a very orthodox landscape expert had gone to work on a country garden, clipping and transplanting until he had everything so neat and 'fixed' that it lost spontaneity."

Well, there you are: no meeting of views at all. But we really can't say that until we hear from at least ten times more people than have written in to date. Please let us know what *you* think about it, and about many other things—the illustrations, for example, the book reviews and drama criticism, the sort of features we carry in those pages between "Spotlight" and "Review and Comment." Most of all, what are you missing that you would like to see in your magazine? Let's make this poll complete.

JOSEPH NORTH'S column "I Give You My Word," had to be omitted from this issue, as the columnist was on vacation. It will appear next week.

THE ACA Gallery (American Contemporary Artists) is moving up to East 57th Street, from its old home on West Eighth which for a score of years has exhibited the work of artists familiar to NM readers—Gropper, Burliuk, Evergood, Reisman, Refregier, and others. The ACA's move to the old Marie Harriman Gallery (63 East 57th), in the heart of the art exhibition district of Manhattan, is a step forward. The formal opening exhibition is announced for September 8 and will continue until September 25. New painters to join the ACA group include Raphael and Moses Soyer and Joseph Stella. We wish director Herman Baron and the artists the best of luck in their new home.

NEW MASSES
ESTABLISHED 1911

EDITOR: JOSEPH NORTH. ASSOCIATE EDITORS: JOY DAVIDMAN, FREDERICK V. FIELD, BARBARA GILES, HERBERT GOLDFRANK, A. B. MAGIL, RUTH McKENNEY, JOHN STUART. WASHINGTON EDITOR: BRUCE MINTON. EDITORIAL ASSISTANT: MARJORIE DeARMAND.

Contributing Editors

LIONEL BERMAN
ALVAH BESSIE
RICHARD O. BOYER
BELLA V. DODD
R. PALME DUTT
RALPH ELLISON
WILLIAM GROPPER
ALFRED KREYMBORG
VITO MARCANTONIO
FREDERICK MYERS
SAMUEL PUTNAM
PAUL ROBESON
ISIDOR SCHNEIDER
HOWARD SELSAM
SAMUEL SILLEN
JOSEPH STAROBIN
MAX YERGAN
ART YOUNG

THIS WEEK — September 7, 1943

NEW MASSES SPOTLIGHT

Editorial Comment 3
How to Beat Japan Colonel T. 8
The Impasse in Foreign Policy Joseph Starobin 10
The Young Pioneers—A poem A. Bezmensky 11
Labor Girds for the Polls Louis Budenz 13
New York's First Labor Paper Morris U. Schappes 15
Czechoslovakia's Secret Army Lenka Reiner 18
To the Air Pilot's Health Ralph Bailey 21

REVIEW AND COMMENT

The "Intellectual" Fascist Samuel Sillen 23
The Living Dead Helen Clare Nelson 25
Romanticized Revolution Michael Roberts 27

SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

Hollywood Letter N. A. Daniels 30
"Seeds of Tomorrow" Daniel Prentiss 31

Vol. XLVIII ,No. 10. Published weekly by NEW MASSES, Inc., at 104 E. 9th St., New York City.

Copyright 1943, NEW MASSES, Inc. Reg. U. S. Patent Office, Washington Office, 945 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Drawings and text may not be reprinted without permission.

Entered as second-class matter, June 24, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies 15 cents. Subscriptons $5.00 a year in U. S. and Colonies and Mexico. Six months, $.75; three months $1.50; Foreign $6.00 a year; six months $3.25; three months $1.75. In Canada, $5.00 a year; $3.00 for six months. Subscribers are notified that no change in address can be ecected in less than two weeks. NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied by stamped, addressed envelopes. NEW MASSES doesnot pay for contributions.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NM SPOTLIGHT

LABOR AND THE SECOND FRONT

MILLIONS of American workers are celebrating Labor Day by staying on the job. That is bad news for a certain resident of Berlin whose intuitions four years ago figured it differently. The staggering defeats and astronomical casualties on the Eastern Front, the loss of North Africa and Sicily, the overthrow of Mussolini, the blockbusters crashing into Berlin, Hamburg, Nuremberg and other cities—all this was not according to plan. Nor were the lethal potentialities of American production, of some sixty-three million free men and women engaged in turning out the stuff to crush the Axis.

American labor is today a decisive factor in the United Nations war effort. But keping the assembly lines moving uninterruptedly is only part of the job. The workers of this country have an indispensable contribution to make to the whole conduct of the war at home and abroad and to the shaping of the peace. This aspect of labor's role is still insufficiently understood, even within its own ranks. The twelve million organized workers constitute a force that can speed up the knockout blow against the Axis, end confusion and sabotage at home, thwart those who seek to save fascism by secret deals, and weld together the United Nations in war and in peace. Not these twelve million alone of course, but these twelve million providing the impulse and leadership for the millions more of the plain folk of America.

On this Labor Day American working men and women face a fourfold job:

1. To push production by eliminating all strikes and insisting on centralized, planned organization of our war economy, with labor given responsible participation in all war agencies.

2. To organize nationwide sentiment for an immediate second front that can assure victory over Hitler in 1943 and over Japan in 1944.

3. To join hands politically in every community with consumer, church, civic, and other groups, along the lines proposed by the CIO, in order to give bone and muscle to President Roosevelt's victory policies, change the reactionary and obstructionist temper of the present Congress, and assure the election in 1944 of a win-the-war administration and Congress.

4. To establish close ties with the labor movements of the United Nations, particularly Britain, the USSR, and Latin America.

In his article on page 13 Louis Budenz discusses the third of these points. We want here to emphasize the second and the most crucial of all. It is over two years since Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. It is over a year since our government solemnly pledged a second front in Europe in 1942. Yet we are entering the fall of 1943 with no guarantee that the second front will be opened even this year. Shall we acknowledge to the world that our promises are written on water, that America cannot be trusted, that in this great liberation war the mightiest country in the world is leaving its own salvation to others and trying to avoid doing its share? That would be the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

greatest moral defeat in our history. And, from the practical standpoint, the failure to invade Europe from the west within the next weeks would prolong the war and thereby increase its cost in blood, in money, in the dislocations of civilian life.

AMERICAN labor can provide the firm core of energy and insight to rout those who, because of outright defeatism or myopic class prejudices or excessive timidity, are holding up the western invasion. The unions once more are beginning to speak up. The Ohio Federation of Labor, representing 350,000 workers, at its convention last wek called for an immediate "land invasion of the European continent." The recent New York state conference of the AFL Brotherhood of Painters likewise urged invasion. Leaders of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers (CIO) have spoken up for an immediate second front. So has the Bridgeport, Conn., Industrial Council (CIO), and such labor leaders as Anton Johannsen, vice-president of the conservative Chicago Federation of Labor, John Green, president of the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, and Percy Llewelyn, head of the Ford local of the United Automobile Workers, the largest local union in the world.

All this, however, is only a beginning. The CIO, the AFL, and the Railroad Brotherhoods need to be roused from their predominantly passive attitude toward the second front. For this is, above all, labor's war, and labor must accept responsibility, together with all other patriotic sections of the population, to see to it that our country's security and honor are not compromised. The time has come to stop taking the second front for granted. Now, when the Russian armies are on the offensive in the east, it must be forged by the will of the American and British peoples.

AFL: Four Conventions

IT MIGHT do the top-flight leaders of the American Federation of Labor a lot of good to come downstairs sometime and see how their rank and file feel about life. Certainly they would have learned a lot at the state conventions last week in Ohio, New York, Vermont, and Wisconsin. Much that happened at these four important meetings underscores the wide gap between the Executive Council and the constituent regional bodies of that great organization. This was most apparent on the crucial issues of the day: labor unity, both at home and abroad; on the readmittance into the Federation of John L. Lewis; and on the paramount issue of the war today—the opening of a second land front on the continent of Europe.

The common denominator of the four conventions was loyalty to the administration's victory program. Thus, whether specifically formulated by resolution or not, the delegates increasingly accepted the corrollary to a win-the-war labor policy, i.e., the emphatic rejection of John L. Lewis and all he stands for. This was obvious even when the delegates did not fully comprehend the significance of Lewis' bid to reenter the Federation, and the pussyfooting on the part of the Executive Council which shunted this issue to the national convention in October. The four state bodies vigorously reaffirmed the no-strike policy (repudiation of a basic Lewis plank); they wanted no negotiated peace with the enemy (repudiation of a Lewis-Hoover objective). Ohio's flat-footed vote for a Roosevelt fourth-term—an unmistakable index to the thinking of 350,000 organized workers in the home bailiwick of the Taft-Bricker cabal—will provoke some furious soul-searching at Pao Alto and in the well upholstered inner chamber of the United Mine Workers offices. Wisconsin's AFL minced no words: in formal resolution it wanted no part of John L. Lewis in the Federation. And it wanted no strikes for the duration.

Many New York delegates spoke out against reentry (thirty-four of thirty-five resolutions on the issue opposed Lewis). As a matter of fact, even though the question was sent to the national convention for decision, nobody—not one delegate—had the temerity to take the floor and speak in favor of John L. Lewis. Vermont gave Lewis and his AFL side-kicks, Matthew Woll, David Dubinsky, and William Hutcheson, little consolation when the delegates unanimously adopted a pledge of support for FDR. "The policy of our President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, calling for unconditional surrender, meets with our wholehearted approval." Nor would these Hoover-inspired worthies gain much heart from the concluding remarks of New York State President William A. Murray, who pointed out that the session had "voted complete support to President Roosevelt's war program and had condemned vigorously those who are seeking to disrupt that program for selfish political and economic reasons."

SHREWD thinking on the most immediate issues of the war was manifested by the delegates, particularly those of Ohio. Meeting at the time of the Quebec conference, the delegates rounded out a splendid program with the adoption of a special motion urging an "immediate land invasion of the European continent." The urgent needs of true coalition warfare were recognized in their welcome "of a tripartite conference between the USA, England, and Russia in the near future." And to guarantee the achievement of its hopes, the Ohioans stumped for the unity of labor. Reciting the experiences in that state of successful joint political action by AFL, CIO, and Railroad Brotherhoods, the delegates concluded that "such unity of labor stimulates and helps all others to unite and cooperate with labor on a common program in the interests of rapid victory in the war and for the peace to follow." The Vermont delegates extended this line of thought by voting a request to the AFL "to consider the possibilities of joining with the British and Russian trade unions in the Anglo-Soviet trade union council." International cooperation was evidently much on the minds of the delegates; this was indicated by the New York convention's vote in favor of repealing the Chinese Exclusion Act, a most significant index to the discrepancy between the AFL rank and file and that of the Executive Council. The leaders who constitute that council would do well to note these manifold straws in the wind, as they prepare for the momentous convention of the AFL in October. The AFL rank and file differ very little from their brothers in the CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods: as President Murray of New York put it, "they know that democracy is fighting for its very life in this war and . . . labor will gladly take it on the chin if it knew that its toil and sacrifice will hasten the eventual victory over the Axis forces."

Straddlers and Sitters

ON SEPTEMBER 6 and 7 the cool winds of Mackinac Island, Mich., will blow as usual, but whether they will bring any balm to the forty-odd Republican leaders gathered there is a question. These GOPers are the members of the Republican Postwar Advisory Council, appointed by Chairman Harrison Spangler of the Republican National Committee to counteract the Willkie view of world affairs. And their two-day sessions have been called in order to incubate a policy that will be attractive to an electorate that is predominantly sympathetic to the Willkie view. The difficult problem that faces this group is: how to sit on a fence without falling off. Or, putting it another way, how to adopt a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

position without taking a stand.

There is in the Republican Postwar Advisory Council (which must not be confused with its opposite number, the Republican Postwar Policy Association), a sprinkling of men like Governor Baldwin of Connecticut and Governor Saltonstall of Massachusetts who advocate win-the-war policies and genuine international collaboration in the peace. But only a sprinkling. The tone of this gathering has been set not only by the recent state papers of the ineffable Spangler, but by the speech made on the eve of the Mackinac Island conference by a member of this hand-picked council, Clarence Buddington Kelland.

For the best characterization of Kelland's speech we refer our readers to the opening words of the front-page story on it in the New York *Times:* "a program of American imperialism in the postwar world." Kelland, former executive director of the Republican National Committee, was until you-know-when a leading member of the America First Committee, as truculent an appeaser as this country has produced.

What he offers under a high-polish veneer of phrases about United Nations collaboration is a program to convert the United States into the world's foremost aggressor nation, taking over the Nazi role after Germany's defeat.

Kelland proposes what he calls five zones of safety for the United States. The first zone consists of a "trusteeship" exercised for an indefinite time by the United States, Russia, Britain, and China over "the territories and people and economy" of the Axis and conquered countries. This happens to be in direct conflict with the Atlantic Charter's guarantee of the right of self-determination; its immediate effect would be to transform the conquered peoples, who are our indispensable allies in this war, into our enemies. The second zone of safety is "a concord" among the four leading powers to maintain peace. The third is a permanent defensive alliance between Britain and the United States. The fourth is "a concord" among the nations of North and South America. But it is the fifth zone that is the core of the program. Taking up the old Hearst-McCormick-Patterson cliche that "the United States of America must and shall be made impregnable," Kelland calls for a five-ocean navy, the biggest air fleet in the world and a huge army. "We must take what we must have," he states. "And we must have such spots on the surface of the earth as will ring this land with a mighty circle of Gibraltars. . . ." These spots include the islands of the Pacific in order to make the Pacific Ocean into "an American lake," plus whatever islands in the Atlantic and Caribbean we

After Quebec

THE Quebec conference ushered out the fourth year of war and laid down the blue-prints of future action. Naturally the official statement is vague and we shall know more of what occupied the planners as time unfolds new battle-fronts. But what is conspicuous is that both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill devoted a good part of their consultations to the Pacific theater. That fact was well established in advance of the final announcement by the absence of a Soviet representative. The appointment of Mountbatten as commander of Allied forces in southeast Asia signals impending operations in the Burma area and elsewhere over the vast stretches of water.

That is cheering news. For it means that the Chinese front can expect the support which heretofore it has not gotten. It should obligate Chungking to rid itself of compromising elements who have persuaded the government to continue its blockade of the guerrilla forces and foment civil strife against them. This factor, almost as much as the failure of London and Washington to do everything possible, has made for delaying a vigorously prosecuted offensive against the Japanese. Kuomintang troops could be put to much better use in battling the Mikado instead of harassing the heroic Eighth and Fourth Armies. If Chungking fails to purge itself of appeasers, then British and American troops will find the going tougher than it need be with the final outcome doubtful.

To the Pacific Firsters who thought they had scored a victory at Quebec, the President, in his Ottawa speech, made a sharp reply. He thrashed those Americans and Canadians who "wished our government to withdraw from the Atlantic and Mediterranean campaigns and divert all our vast combined strength to the removal of the Japs from a few rocky specks in the North Pacific." As he put it, "wiser counsels" have prevailed and the grand strategy, outlined by Mr. Churchill to Congress last May, has not been altered even under the tremendous pressure of the Senator Chandler coteries in and out of Washington. But we will delude ourselves if we think that these groups have capitulated now that the President has castigated them. If it begins to appear as though theirs is a losing battle, they will vociferously proclaim that we delay decisive projects in Europe until it looks as though the Eastern war lords have been brought to their knees. The conception of simultaneous victory in the Pacific and Atlantic, no matter how embroidered it is and how attractive it sounds, still means a dragged out war, with Hitler given the time to arrange a political victory even if his military defeat seems inevitable.

The only other decision of the Quebec meeting which has become public is the recognition of the French Committee at Algiers. The American statement, in contrast to the British or Canadian, was frigid and another sample of the ungracious attitude which the French people will not forget. Not only did it lack warmth and an abiding sense of comradeship but it was given grudgingly. The conservative New York "Herald Tribune" defined this limited recognition exactly right. It called it "churlish." It was churlish because it said to millions of Frenchmen that their opinion and unqualified support of the French Committee meant very little to the high and mighty in Washington. By comparison the Soviet formula of recognition is not only embarrassing to us but indicative of the manner in which Moscow cooperates with all genuine people's movements. Fortunately the last chapter has not yet been written. There might not have been this bit tossed to the French were it not for the heat generated by the pressure of thousands of Americans. And there is no doubt that the icebergs in the capital can be melted a little more. Certainly limited recognition was hardly in keeping with the spirit of "simple humanity" expressed by the President last week in his letter transmitting the quarterly lend-lease report.

In our view, however, the most important development at Quebec was the possibility of a tripartite meeting to include the Soviet Union. For Quebec reflected only the thinking of two powers and not the coalition. It is the Russians who by their military exploits have made a victory strategy possible and it is only in closest collaboration with them that we can bring it to fruition. The archaic procedure of informing the Kremlin what Downing Street or Pennsylvania Avenue have decided makes for the conduct of two or three separate wars but not for joint war. And it is only by joint operations—epitomized in a second front—that the war can be closed much before the fifth year has expired.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

take a fancy to, Dakar, Casablanca, and bases in Iceland and Greenland—all these to be acquired either by "friendly negotiation" (backed by the threat of the biggest army, navy and air fleet in the world), or "by occupation," that is, by force.

STRIPPED of the demagogy by which Kelland tips his hat to popular sentiment for international collaboration, his is a program for the *isolation* of the United States, for the conversion of all its present friends into its future enemies. It is a program for guaranteeing a third world war, with a reactionary, predatory America fighting alone against the entire world. A similar program led Germany to disaster.

That the Kelland plan has received the accolades of Westbrook Pegler and of Hearst's New York *Mirror* only confirms its defeatist, pro-fascist character. That it has been praised by such a commentator as Raymond Clapper and by the New York *Herald Tribune*—in the latter case with minor reservations—reveals a grave confusion of thinking on the part of some of the win-the-war forces. As the *Mirror* aptly puts it, the Kelland plan "is the other side of the One World Willkie philosophy." Any attempt to amalgamate the two, to make a political deal in the name of that shoddy expediency which Willkie himself has condemned, will be an invitation to the voters to seek elsewhere for leadership.

Underground

LAST April Nazi radio stations suddenly announced that all German university students would have to undergo new tests for political reliability. Those who proved "unstable" or lukewarm in their political sentiments would be removed from the schools and in certain cases tried. The others would be sent into the army for front-line duty.

What was the cause for this astonishing measure? Astonishing because university students were checked and rechecked before they were admitted and, as a matter of fact, only members of the *Nationalsozialistsche Studentenbund*, the Nazi students' organization, could matriculate. It now turns out, however, that this group is infested by what the Nazi minister of education, Bernhard Rust, calls "perverted idealists and decayed youth."

On February 22 a special Nazi court at Munich sentenced to death three university students—Adrian Probst, Maria Scholl, and Hans Scholl. Hitler's newspaper, the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, called them "typical individual cranks." In the following weeks there were three more trials of students. In all, thirty of them were tried for "treason."

According to the Nazis the students had "encouraged sabotage in armament factories by means of leaflets during our nation's difficult hours in the winter of 1942-43." The students had also collaborated with other people and organizations. Two workers from Freiburg who "did not report the activities of the student agitators" were sentenced to long prison terms. One woman from Stuttgart "who provided money without knowing all the particulars" received a ten-year sentence.

THE students had also arranged a demonstration against gauleiter Giessler, who had made a pep talk at a university "in honor of the glorious dead soldiers at Stalingrad." Leaflets that were part of the demonstration were found in Stuttgart, Leipzig, and even Berlin. "A wide ramification of criminal collaboration was discovered," said the report in the Nazi press.

It is not by mere chance that the Moscow radio in one of its broadcasts to the Nazi rear could use the names of fifty-two intellectuals, mostly students, who gave themselves up on the Eastern Front. The students called on their colleagues in Germany to follow the example of those who had rebelled against the Nazi regime and were tried by the special court at Munich.

"The universities will become centers of unrest, and the memory of Hans and Maria Scholl and Adrian Probst will be cherished, and their murderers will be punished." These were the words of an underground leaflet distributed a few days after the trial, and broadcast by the radio stations of the German underground.

Spies in Detroit

WE ARE waiting to hear what Detroit's "Fact Finding" Committee has to say about the arrest of six Nazi spies in that city last week. So far the Committee has accepted the news with thunderous silence. One of the facts—the principal one—that Prosecutor Dowling and his purblind colleagues wouldn't find, was a connection between the fifth column and the insurrection that raged on Detroit's streets several months ago. Observers will recall that the official investigating body carefully whitewashed the Klan and its kin organization, the National Workers' League. Now that the Federal Bureau of Investigation announces the arrest of Dr. Fred W. Thomas, one of the six charged with espionage, the Dies committee rushes belatedly on the stage—nineteen months late—to charge that Dr. Thomas "angeled" the National Workers League and attempted to get its secretary, Parker Sage, on the Ford payroll. Dies, publicity-hungry as usual, failed to mention that he has had the records and files of the National Workers League since January 1942. Sage, along with Garland Alderman and Virgil Chandler, has been under indictment for activities in the Sojourner Truth riot of February 1942, which they and the Klan instigated. This ushered in the bloody street fighting which took the lives of thirty-five Detroiters—twenty-seven of them Negroes.

Further facts the Detroit Fact Finding Committee might examine are these: Sage's lieutenant, Charles Dexter, a labor spy, has been hired at the River Rouge plant of Henry Ford, and is evidently still employed there; Theodore Donay, linked with the escape of Nazi Lieutenant Krug from a Canadian prison camp, has also been reported a member of the League; Sage has worked at the US Rubber Co., which witnessed an anti-Negro strike recently and where the Klan operates today more arrogantly than ever.

This much the recent arrests make clear: Hitler has understood the crucial importance of Detroit. He has sent his agents to operate in that arsenal of democracy. These agents are directly linked with subversive organizations in that area. They have used the Negro issue to foment insurrections against our national war effort and unity. This is what labor and Negro organizations have been contending all along. NEW MASSES for a long time has warned that this was the case, and has published expose after expose making these charges. Now the FBI confirms them. All Americans have the right to ask, well, what

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

about it? Will Attorney General Biddle do what patriotism and security demand? The cases of the thirty-three seditionists are still unsettled; Sage, Chandler, Alderman, Gerald L. K. Smith and many others are still at large. What, in the name of justice, do we have to see happen before the Klan and allied fifth column groups are erased from the national scene?

Denmark and Bulgaria

IF MORE proof were needed that the continent of Europe is ripe for invasion it has now been furnished by the stalwart people of Denmark and Bulgaria. The anti-Nazi turbulence in these two countries illustrates the tremendous support the people of the occupied countries will give the armed forces of the United Nations the moment they storm Hitler's European fortress. The remarks of Henri Portalet, representative of the French Communist Party in Algiers, that "in France there is the equivalent of 39,000,000 parachutists waiting behind German lines to strike a blow for liberty," are obviously also applicable to Bulgaria and Denmark.

The current upsurge and demonstrations against the Nazi overlords in Bulgaria, which have directly or indirectly resulted in the death of Hitler's puppet, King Boris, mark the heightening of a trend which the fascists have never been able to stamp out. So strong has been the hatred of the Bulgarians for their would-be conquerors, so strong is their desire for liberty, that Hitler and Boris had not dared take them into the war against the Soviet Union. Knowing that Bulgarian troops would revolt if sent to the Eastern Front, the fascists have instead used them for police work at home and against the partisans of Yugoslavia. The latter assignment has resulted in many instances in the strengthening of the partisans as Bulgarian troops deserted to join the fighters for freedom. Political assassinations have been frequent—as of Sotir Yanov, the president of the Foreign Affairs Parliamentary Committee, a Sofia police inspector, and General Christo Lukov, both prominent exponents of the German "new order."

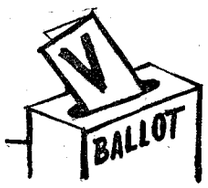
Denmark is the country that the Nazis have held up to the world as the perfect example of "cooperation." It was occupied without struggle at the time of the invasion of the Low Countries. But since the middle of August the world has seen the true state of affairs. Widespread anti-Nazi revolt sweeps the country. Workers are on strike, power plants are sabotaged. Part of the small naval force has been scuttled and other units have fled to Sweden. Danish police clash with Nazi soldiers. And reports indicate that the German rulers have embarked on what even for them is an unprecedented reign of terror.

Throughout Europe the people's revolt against the brutality and cruelty of Nazism is stymying the Nazis at every turn. The upsurge of the masses cannot be stayed. The armed forces of Great Britain, the United States, and the Dominions must immediately join forces with the people of Europe, the "parachutists" already there by the millions ready to destroy their oppressors.

"The Week"

We are happy to hear from our London correspondent, Claude Cockburn, that the export ban on The Week, his famous weekly newsletter, has now been lifted. Because of the paper shortage, subscriptions are now strictly limited but a quota has been kept open for United States subscribers. The rates are twelve dollars yearly, seven dollars for six months. By airmail the newsletter is twenty-five dollars yearly, fifteen dollars for six months. Address Claude Cockburn, The Week, 21 Bloomsbury Way, London, WC 1, England.

Australian Labor Elects . . .



THE reason for the significant gains of Prime Minister John Curtin's labor government in the recent Australian elections was the strong unity that had been established among Australian trade unionists. The 700,000 members of the Australian Council of Trade Unions had climaxed a five-day national convention held early in July with a resolution calling for "a united front of all working class organizations as essential for the defeat of the Axis and the re-election of the Curtin labor government." This decision made the political policy of the ACTU virtually identical with that of the Communist Party and assured the strengthening of Curtin's administration.

Final election results are not yet available, for a large soldier vote has still to be counted. Almost complete returns, however, show the extraordinary degree of unity forged by the workers. The Labor Party increased its seats in the House of Representatives from thirty-six to fifty-three out of a total of seventy-five, giving it a clear majority. Out of thirty-six senators, the Labor Party has elected twenty-two, but this majority cannot be exercised until July 1944, when the newly elected senators will be eligible to sit. The United Australia Party and the Country Party, representing conservative business interests, were soundly defeated. Former Prime Minister A. W. Fadden attempted to exploit the hardships of the war by challenging the labor government but the effort boomeranged as he had counted on a split in organized labor.

The Labor Party's victory is expected to strengthen greatly the federal trade union movement of Australia. Until the recent ACTU convention the power and organization of the unions rested on a state rather than a national basis. The ACTU itself had no full-time staff, no central office, and no publication. The decision has now been made to move the national headquarters from Melbourne to Sidney, the main industrial center, and the former President of the ACTU, A. E. Monk, has been elected its full-time paid secretary. Another development, and a very significant one, is the ACTU's recent application for affiliation to the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee, and its expressed desire that the trade union movement of all the United Nations form an international alliance.

As We Go to Press

NO ONE who is concerned with the integrity of our electoral system and with the moral quality of our political life can be indifferent to what happened at the organization meeting of the Kings County Committee of the American Labor Party. Though the Progressives won the August 10 primary by electing 1,974 county committeemen, to 1,505 for the Old Guard, at the organization meeting the right wing specialists in black magic, who controlled the outgoing committee, converted this into a 1,357 to 1,149 vote in their favor.

What actually happened may be judged from the headline in *PM*, a newspaper which before the primaries actively supported the right wing and Red-baited the Progressives: "ALP Right-Wing Steamrolls Brooklyn Convention." The *PM* reporter wrote that "on a show of hands on the crucial executive committee vote, the left-wingers apparently had the edge." He also spoke of "the seeming vocal preponderance by the left wingers" on the various voice votes.

The ALP Progressives have served notice that they intend to contest in the courts this mockery of democratic processes. It seems to us that the strongest supporters of this move ought to be those honest liberals who in good faith aligned themselves with the right wing in the primaries. We await with interest the comment of such publications as the *Nation* and the *New Republic*.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

HOW TO BEAT JAPAN

THERE is little doubt that, even allowing for necessary and unnecessary "smoke-screening," the Quebec conference mainly devoted its labors to the strategy in the Pacific.

Some people say that the USSR did not attend because the conference was concerned with the Pacific and Japan. Others say that it was given the appearance of concerning itself with the Pacific so as to permit the exclusion of the USSR. If certain factors had not already emerged as consequences of the conference such speculation might have been permissible.

But certain factors *have* emerged. And the most palpable of these is the appointment of Vice-Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten as Allied Commander-in-Chief in southeast Asia with headquarters and command in India and Ceylon.

The young commander's career qualifications—he is a sailor, a flier, a Commando chieftain, and by birth a symbol of the British empire as an institution—give away the Allied intentions to attack Japan from the Calcutta-Ceylon line along the Lashio-Rangoon-Singapore line in a general northeasterly direction.

Lord Louis said that he was happy to have American and Chinese fighting men under his command. Thus it is to be surmised that his forces will be made up basically of British naval, American flying, Chinese infantry units, with a certain addition of his own Commando units. The continued pattern of the coming operations thus becomes pretty apparent.

There is little doubt that China and its armies are the kingpin of Allied military might in East Asia. Remember that China fought for six years practically without our help. On the other hand where would we be today if China suddenly dropped out of the war? So, after all, let us be candid: China has been doing without us, but we cannot do without China. It is, therefore, our primary interest in the Pacific to reinforce China with weapons and materials and this boils down to reopening the Burma Road. At first glance this looks like a land operation. Advance from India to the Lashio-Rangoon line, and there you are. Why then an admiral and a Commando man?

The actual situation is not so simple as that. Advancing from India into Burma is not such an easy matter, because of the hellish terrain. True, the monsoons will end in six weeks, but the mountains and precipices will remain. When the Japanese advanced through Burma to the eastern border of India they had the railheads and bases of Thai at their disposal, with the entire Indo-Chinese hinterland to back them up. But an Allied force moving from Bengal or Assam into Burma would have to march 200 miles from its last railhead through the wilderness before reaching a strategic objective (the Rangoon-Myitkyina rail line). This is quite obviously an impossible task to set oneself when fighting a modern enemy who has had plenty of time to organize in Burma.

Combined operations appear to be the best solution of the problem. The first such operation would probably be directed by Lord Mountbatten against the islands of the Bay of Bengal with large "regular-guerrilla" forces (such as have already operated in Burma with great success for months) stabbing into the heart of Burma to worry the Japanese. At the same time Commando stabs against Malaya and Sumatra would probably be made in order to force the Japanese to disperse their forces and attention. Finally, the big landing would come in Lower Burma, Tenasserim, the Kra Peninsula, or Malaya, with the object of capturing Rangoon and Singapore from the land side, as the Japanese did.

This would cut the Japanese supply line via Singapore to Rangoon and Akyab and throw their communications back on the tenuous and vulnerable coastal Indo-Chinese railroad which runs from Haiphong all around the coast to Saigon and Bangkok and from there north to Chiengmai (railhead for the Burmese front) and south to Singapore. It is clear that with Allied aerial superiority such as it is even now, this railroad line, inadequate as it is even when intact, will function but intermittently and will not be able to fulfill the demands put on it by an active campaign in Burma. And our aerial superiority will grow larger with every month that passes because of the terrific ratio of Japanese losses in the air and because of the reinforcements which we will send to Mountbatten's command.

THE Japanese "loot-empire" from now on will be wedged into a four-way vise, the jaws of which will be Mountbatten, Chiang, MacArthur, and Halsey. The latter two will remain condemned to island-hopping, with an occasional leapfrog simply because there are only islands between them and Manila and Tokyo. Their weapons are planes and naval task forces with small land contingents.

General Chiang Kai-shek's role should be to continue to occupy and mobilize the thirty-odd Japanese divisions which are fighting on his front (while Army General Apanasenko attracts, in a friendly way of course, some forty-five to fifty Japanese divisions on the Manchu border).

Mountbatten's job could be to try and retake the loot from the Japanese, i.e. strike at Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, etc. Or it might be to break through to the heart of the situation, into southern China, in order not only to supply the Chinese and double or triple their striking power, but to secure the southeastern coast of China and put Allied air bases all along it from Singapore to Shangahai, which would expose the 3,000-mile long Japanese sea lane to the constant attacks of Allied bombers. The alternative is like a choice of whether to take away the plate of food which the bad man has snatched from you, or to cut his esophagus so he cannot eat. Japan's "esophagus" is so long and so (potentially) exposed that the latter course seems indicated.

THEREFORE, it appears to me that Lord Louis Mountbatten's role will be to put China's land front back on the map as a major factor in Pacific strategy by: (a) opening the Burma Road, and (b) cutting the Japanese "esophagus" which stretches from Indonesia to the Philippines and to the Home Islands.

Mountbatten will probably have at his disposal the army General Auchinleck is reported to have in India. This army is said to have reached the 2,000,000 mark. He certainly will have important units of the British Navy which may become free for service in the Far East after the capture of Sicily and the securing of the Mediterranean. Big "wagons" would hardly be necessary for landing operations in Europe (if such operations are contemplated) because the German Navy is not a major factor and the Italian Navy is in what the Italians call "*uno stato di putrefazione avanzata*" (a state of advanced putrefaction).

As to aviation, there is little doubt that Lord Mountbatten will have some of the best we can produce. General MacArthur and Admiral Halsey will surely provide the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

necessary diversion when the big push from India begins, attracting upon themselves as much enemy air and sea power as possible.

The Northern Pacific, it would seem, will remain inactive for some time. For, short of a direct naval-air attack on Paramushiro, there is nothing much else to do there after the clearing of the Aleutians. It is entirely possible that by the time Mountbatten gets up to bat, New Guinea and New Britain will already have been cleared of the Japanese by MacArthur and Halsey, the Japanese *place d'armes* being reduced to a rough circle with its center in the Philippines and a radius of some 2,000 miles.

If these are the Quebec decisions, they appear wise. We cannot afford to let China spend its last drop of energy. And the only way to support it effectively is to pry open its back door, i.e. the Burma Road.

Aside from helping China, we must ourselves at last begin fighting on a large scale land front which is the place where Japan (just like Germany) can be decisively defeated. To us Pakhoi, Canton, Swatow, Amoy, Foochow, and Shanghai are even more important goals than Rabaul, Truk, Palau, and Guam.

The operations described above, their future timing, and the composition of the forces necessary for execution do not in the least interfere with the urgent tasks of opening a second front in Western Europe right now, while the Red Army's offensive is still moving forward in high gear.

In other words, the coming Pacific offensive should in no way postpone immediate action to crush the Axis in Europe in 1943. Lord Mountbatten, at best, could hardly start his big push, if such a push is contemplated, before early 1944.

The Case of Sumner Welles

LET it be said at the outset that Sumner Welles was not a great liberal architect of our foreign relations. For all the credit due him in fashioning the Good Neighbor policy, he often acted arbitrarily toward Latin America and too much the colonial overseer. He was unnecessarily cautious and tight-lipped when it was imperative that he be bold and frank. At the core he was and is a conservative democrat.

But in the jungle of the State Department and among the mental midgets who populate it, Sumner Welles was a giant. If there was a trace of bourbonism in this austere personality, he succeeded in overcoming it. During the war, particularly in the last two years, he showed himself pliant and willing to learn from errors of the past. Neither his crochety chief, Mr. Hull, nor any of his former departmental colleagues have yet produced so perceptive a document as his Memorial Day address of 1942. It was permeated with acknowledgements that the pre-war policies had been tragic blunders from which we now "are reaping the bitter fruit of our own folly and of our own lack of vision;" that we must fight hard in this war instead of living in the fool's paradise "that the peoples who are fighting with us for our common cause should relieve us of our due share of sacrifice;" and that "if this war is in fact a war for the liberation of peoples, it must assure the sovereign equality of peoples throughout the world."

Mr. Welles stood for permanent alliance with the democratic powers big and small. He was a champion of unity. It was he who informed Earl Browder that victory in China demanded the cooperation of all groups including the Communists. It was he who pressed for more mature relations with the Soviet Union. It was he who was able to transcend short-sighted class interests for the sake of the country's welfare.

All this is in the best tradition of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wallace. And yet the President, from all indications in the press, has accepted the Undersecretary's resignation. We cannot understand it, and along with thousands of other Americans we deplore this easy solution of what at heart is a conflict over policy. It will not stand well with our friends abroad, for the only interpretation they will be able to make of this most unfortunate incident is that new and injurious forces are gaining the ascendancy. They will not be far from the mark if they consider Mr. Roosevelt's acquiescence as a retreat before the ineffable Adolph Berles and Breckinridge Longs. At this juncture of world affairs, our allies as well as we had a right to expect a stronger assertion of leadership.

Hull's role in undermining Welles has been known for months. The irony of it all is that the very man who has been cautioning Americans to forget politics and concentrate on the war has himself been engaged in the most tawdry kind of politics. We can appreciate the pressures exerted on the President to give Hull the upper hand. All the tories of the southern Democratic machine, assisted in the background by Mr. Spangler's disciples, must have descended with threats and warnings about the future of the administration if Mr. Hull were not appeased. But this is not the first time that the cave dwellers have marched on the White House. And they should have been rebuffed as they often have been in the past. For it is clear that the success of the President in the entire war enterprise depends on progressive policies forcefully executed and not on the whims of southern backwoodsmen who, when they can see at all, see no farther than the tips of their noses. They have labored against the administration's domestic reforms and now they rally around Mr. Hull to give him comfort and support while they hack away at the grand alliance.

The weakness that plagues the State Department will not be rectified by a course of appeasement. What haunts those victorian corridors and creates dismay among our allies is an unstable foreign policy practiced by a group of men not in the least concerned with the dominant trends in the nation. These men have by and large always lived in splendid isolation. More important, however, is that most of them are against the implications of a people's war and are unwilling to press the offensive against fascism to the bitter end. This is the core of our difficulties with the State Department and only a correct and insistent democratic policy can save us from the graves which these men are digging.

The President is undoubtedly aware of what Mr. Welles' departure means. It can mean a serious retreat before those attempting to blockade him or it can mean a momentary slip to be adjusted by a vigorous counter-attack. It must not mean that we have backtracked on our pledges abroad or that our commitments are not worth the paper on which they have been written.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE IMPASSE IN FOREIGN POLICY

Two ways of waging war: in the interests of the nation, or the narrow interests of a class. Joseph Starobin estimates the terrible price of the latter.

AT LEAST one thing is true about these last two fateful weeks: no one with the least understanding could be in doubt as to just why the Soviet government was doing the things it did. There is no enigma, no mystery, no riddle for the enemies of the USSR to exploit, nor the friends of the USSR to explain. Our Russian allies have served notice that they are fighting this war to a finish. Even the most perverse newspapers cannot deny this. Our Russian friends have decided to make this a short war, if they possibly can. And they are going at it in their characteristic spirit. In their foreign policy, they stand for the same things as ever: participation of all peoples in their own liberation, decision by all peoples of their own internal affairs. By the recall of their first-line statesmen from London and Washington, our Soviet friends have put the matter up to us: are we coming along for a speedy victory and a people's peace, or not? It is up to us to decide. As usual, they have acted with great patience, in the spirit of that quality which Churchill noticed in Stalin: "utterly devoid of illusion." Or as the New York *Herald Tribune* put it last week, "with a certain harsh practicality, a cold grasp of fundamentals, which others might well emulate."

SO THE American public need not ask for whom the bell tolls. The enigma is with us. The vast responsibility for the immediate course of the war, the decision which determines our future relations to the century of the common man are now placed sharply, inescapably, more urgently than ever before. I think this is the only way to begin a discussion of what has happened in these few weeks—the impasse of the coalition as revealed at Quebec, the crisis of American foreign policy as symbolized in the "resignation" of Sumner Welles. So much has been said, so much talk of the goodness and light that Americans are bringing to the dark corners of the world. The truth is that clarity begins at home.

The real issues in the impasse to which our public is awakening with shock, disappointment, and anger revolve around our national interest in this war. For this is, and remains, a war of the entire nation against the enemies of the entire nation. If we find, as I think we have in these last weeks, a growing differentiation of policies between various forces in the nation, the only way to determine which course is valid, what must be fought for, is to re-examine the national interest.

Why is America at war, after all? I ask this question in all seriousness. We are at war because a coalition of barbaric imperialisms threatened to break into the plains of central Asia, enslaving entire nations, including humanity's first socialist nation, in order to take up positions astride the shattered British empire such as would confront the United States with doom. Our choice would have been: submission to the Axis as a Vichyfied America, or an unequal war against the combined hosts of barbarism that even the powerful United States could not have won.

We are at war because our capitalists, for their own survival, could not face this prospect without resistance. Just as American labor could not face it without fighting back. When the full menace of the Axis was revealed, at the blinding moment of the attack on the USSR, all separate interests had to give way to the common, national interest. The common fear of the Axis was the over-riding compulsion of all politics.

And the national interest implied an intimate cooperation of all the nations—Russia, Britain, the United States, China—through whom the enemy could be vanquished. It implied the collaboration of forces, which, had it come earlier, might have averted the war entirely. And this was especially true with reference to Russia and China against whom the main blows of the enemy were being delivered.

Our common aim was the eradication of the Axis; it was not, and could not be, our aim to impose upon the peoples of any other country the ideas of government, law, morality, economy that were prevalent in any one country of the coalition, except in so far as such ideas arose out of the history of any country and were freely desired by their people. Our national interest demanded for the future the continuation of that coalition which was making victory possible, what Walter Lippmann has aptly termed a "nuclear alliance." America's attitude toward the future could not be determined by the fact that capitalist conditions were predominant among us; just as Russia's attitude could not be determined by her socialist institutions and instincts. And that is why a treaty such as the Anglo-Soviet treaty, which best expresses this truth, declares in Article V that both parties pledge themselves, in addition to cooperation for twenty years, to non-interference in the internal affairs of the European peoples.

Moreover, every change and every new phenomenon brought about in the war had to be judged solely by the standard of whether it helped or hindered the winning of the war. Irrespective of whether you liked French Communists or not, the fact was that in the case of France, they formed a historically developed, powerful backbone of the resistance movement. French Communism traces back to the heroism of Babeuf, to the days of 1848, to the national patriotism of the Parisians against the Germans during the Commune; it has origins in the syndicalism of Louise Michel, and embraces in itself the best of the generation that fought through the entire first world war, the flaming cry of Henri Barbusse. It carries on the intransigeance of the seventy-one deputies who voted down Munich. To inject anti-Communist prejudices, therefore, into American attitudes toward France was to help Hitler.

And the same was revealed in many countries, whose particular historical development had brought forward to one or another degree Communist forces that were working together with the United States in the common interest. On the other hand, no matter how deeply all democrats feel about India's right to independence, we could not make our attitude toward the empire a condition for including the British people in the common fight. We could only inquire whether the refusal to mobilize India for her own self-defense was harmful or helpful from the viewpoint of victory.

ALL this would seem elementary. But I begin with this in order to assert that the clue to the present crisis of American foreign policy lies in the recrudescence of class considerations and class prejudices to the point where they now openly jeopardize the entire nation's interest in speedy victory, and in the indispensable nuclear alliance for the peace. The fear of a Hitler victory having abated, powerful forces are attempting to depart from the platform of the national interest to pursue narrow and self-defeating class interests. And they have the gall to ask the entire coalition, as well as the American people, to pay the price of such policies.

Catalogue them, if you wish: the continued delay in opening a second front; the deliberate readiness—shall I say eagerness—to permit a deterioration of relations with Russia; the surly limited recognition of the French Committee of National Liberation; the ill-concealed designs upon the British and Dutch empires; the encouragement to a pro-fascist Polish embassy in Washington; the absolutely untenable rec-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

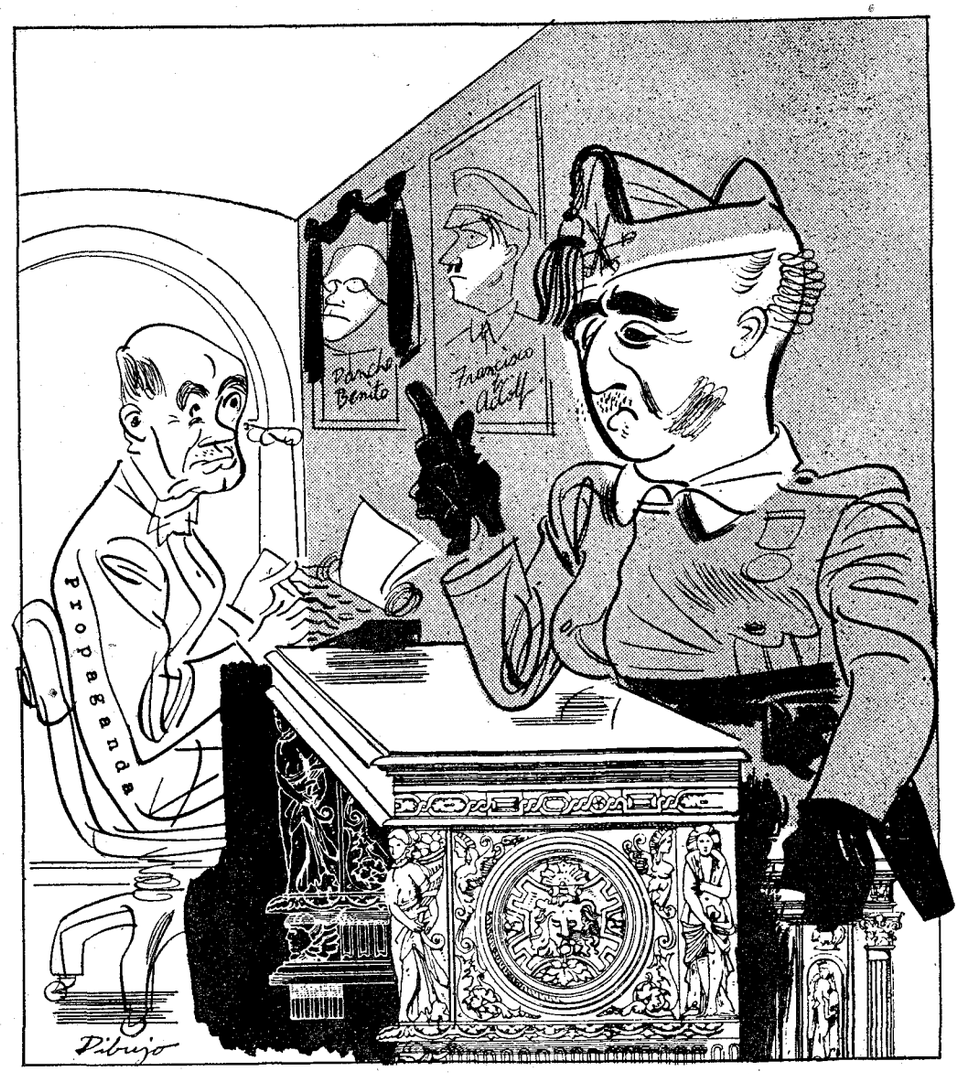
ognition for the envoys of the Baltic states on the hypocritical basis of upholding the rights of small nations; the brazen suggestion by Secretary of State Cordell Hull that Finland might be compensated for fighting Russia by exemption from unconditional surrender; and finally, the emergence to decisive influence in the State Department of men like James C. Dunn and Breckinridge Long, a phenomenon which, from the viewpoint of foreign policy, can only be considerd an invitation to the enemy to resist us for the sake of more favorable peace terms. All these are manifestations of a single process.

And that process is the attempt to supercede national interest by class interest. Unless this is checked, American lives will be spent needlessly. And America's role as "first among equals" will be seriously compromised.

TAKE, for example, a revealing passage in a recent column by Mark Sullivan, a characteristic spokesman for broad sections of our capitalist class. Discussing the "Free Germany" committee, which for obvious and natural reasons happened to be formed in Moscow, Sullivan asks on August 9: "Would the peoples of the United States and Britain, including the US Senate, approve any postwar settlement which included imposing on Germany a status of government and society contrary to what we regard as fundamental principles?" Sullivan makes Germany only an occasion for asking the same question about all of Europe.

Let us ignore for the moment the gratuitous inclusion of the "people of Britain" in this paragraph, or the supercilious tone of the whole thing. Isn't it clear that such considerations cannot be made the basis for a foreign policy, a national policy? It is absolutely none of our business how the peoples of Europe organize their affairs, so long as the threat to us of fascist imperialism is eliminated forever. There is absolutely nothing in the premises of our participation in this war which compels the peoples of Europe to conform to Mark Sullivan's conception of "what we regard as fundamental principles."

Our interest in Europe demands only two broad things: elimination of German imperialism, which twice within a generation threatened us, and the equal access with all other nations to the obligations as well as markets in the economic reconstruction of Europe. Otherwise, the peoples of Europe are under no obligation to us, except as allies. We have utterly no basis for any conception of mortgaging their future. And if we are privileged to fight on their soil, it is a good fortune for which we ought to be grateful instead of imperious. If we were not fighting on their soil, we would have to be fighting on our own soil, with no allies left in the world. Get that, Mr. Sullivan?



"Kid them along. Tell them we're neutral—that's why we need more tanks and planes and guns."

And the moment when men such as Sullivan give the impression that their own conception of "fundamental principles" becomes binding on all our allies, we are violating the implicit nature of our war alliance, and we are undermining any hope of a future fraternity with the world's great nations. If Mr. Sullivan's attitude persists, or spreads, the United States is commited in the last analysis to interfere in the internal affairs not only of the peoples being liberated, but also in the affairs of such liberators as Russia—since her society is based on principles which Mr. Sullivan may consider at variance with ours. Moreover, if such attitudes persist, we shall find the rest of the world inviting us plumb to the devil.

When Mark Sullivan says he doesn't like the history of France, in which a historically inevitable Communist Party gained the allegiance of a large section of the French masses, or in which a powerful nationalism happened to bring forward a personality such as de Gaulle, history will answer: like it or lump it. And such prejudices will only mean that the work of American soldiers in France and with France will be made much more difficult. In fact, as Dorothy Thompson so pathetically and brilliantly warns the ruling circles, the continuation of Mark Sullivan's attitude will bring about precisely what he fears. Miss Thompson's entire effort these days is devoted to warning such people as Sullivan that if the United States does not pursue a course harmonious with France, that will only deepen for France her historic alliance with Russia, and it will drive millions of Frenchmen to reliance upon Russia, as against other powers that attempt to meddle in French affairs.

IT IS precisely this which made so ignominious the recent treatment of the Soviet ambassador to the exiled governments, Alexander Bogomolov. Consider what happened. Here is resurgent France, a France which was allied with Russia forty years ago, and twenty-five years ago, and fifteen years ago—when our military men in Algiers were still in their backwoods swaddling clothes. A Russian envoy wishes to visit Algiers, for purposes of discussion with Frenchmen. And some snooty American doesn't like it, and presumes that his belated arrival in France last November gives him a veto power over basic trends in French history. Such incidents (and especially the confession of guilt implied in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hastily granting Bogomolov a visa when the story came out) only makes our country the laughing-stock of all Europe, and in positive danger of being despised by all Europe. In fact, in the entire treatment of the USSR our State Department has acted as it would not have dared to act toward representatives of Imperial Russia. Robert Lansing should be turning over in his grave at the spectacle.

Or take the second front issue. To argue this summer against a second front is not only a matter of going back on our pledged word, and this in a country which is based on the "sanctity of the contract." To argue against a second front, and try to postpone it, is to prolong the war, and to blast the very foundations of the nuclear alliance which Lippmann advocates. For all the arguments against the second front have been exploded by events: we have the shipping, we have the vast power in Britain and the Mediterranean, we have the air umbrellas, we have the Axis where we want it. In such a case, to postpone a second front would mean a deliberate decision to shift the entire center of gravity of the war; it would mean a deliberate decision to prolong the war, and an invitation to Hitler to exact the heaviest toll of the lives of our allies while preparing the basis for a negotiated peace. How else can this be characterized than as the callous intervention of class considerations to the detriment of the nation, and the nation's future?

But the matter does not end here. For no matter how we may strive to gain a unilateral and exclusive victory, no matter how we may insist upon a lend-lease conception of future politics, and refuse to make commitments to the future as allies should, the truth is that the historical forces at work are running counter to us. Either we try to buck these historical forces—which means trouble, and plenty of it—or we try to work with, and find our best place in harmony with these forces.

VICTORY demands of us a strategy of victory, a two-front war. If we try to evade a two-front war, we shall find that Russia will persevere in defeating the common enemy, at no matter what cost. And then the Mark Sullivans will suddenly realize, as they have this summer, that events are moving more quickly than their calculations. A hue and cry will arise on the necessity of invading Europe after all, and quickly too.

Russia has offered us a platform for common cooperation in the future. In essence, a government such as the Czechoslovak government in exile, or the French Committee of National Liberation, or a democratic government for Germany as implied by the Free German committee, could all be the pattern for the future of Europe. The heart of this pattern is that the united front of different forces which arose to lead and organize the resistance to the enemy shall be extended into the postwar period of recuperation and reconstruction. This perspective was implied by the dissolution of the Communist International. It is a perspective of a Europe in which all authentic democratic forces participate in the peace as they did in the war.

But if the United States refuses to cooperate on this basis, if we try to undermine such structures as the French Committee or the Czechoslovak government, or the Italian five-party coalition, the question arises whether we are strong enough to do it, and what the consequences—not only to Europe, but to our own soldiers and our domestic life—would be.

Europe would feel cheated of victory by a Franco in Spain, a Petain in France, a Horthy in Hungary, a Vaino Tanner in Finland, a what-have-you in Germany. And the Soviet Union would inevitably feel that her future security was in danger. The outcome would be political conflict of the worst kind in Europe. And the question arises whether even the United States could win such a conflict. The question also arises whether only a very reactionary American administration could ever have the nerve to try.

In the second issue of *War and the Working Class*, as well as in the formation of the British-Soviet trade association, our Russian friends have suggested that American and British help would be welcomed in reconstructing Europe, and perhaps even part of Russia itself. But if Mark Sullivan insists that he is interested not so much in helping to keep American capitalism going by a fruitful interchange of commerce with postwar Europe, but on *political* conditions for such commerce, why then, Europe will tell us to keep our goods at home and they will set about pulling themselves up by their own bootstraps.

To me, one of the most symbolic events of these past two weeks, an indication of how grave the present impasse really is, was the Soviet decision for the reconstruction of her own devastated areas. I would not jump to conclusions from this one fact. But it will not escape notice that in the same week that the second front hung in balance at Quebec, and Litvinov was recalled, the USSR decreed her own costly but urgent self-reconstruction. Mark Sullivan had best think over the meaning of this symbol.

But the striving to supersede national by class considerations is not a smooth process. It does not and cannot go unchallenged either by our allies, or by the American people. It cannot even go unchallenged within the structure of government, as the "resignation" of Sumner Welles goes to prove. We are in for a dangerous phase, but also a phase which will be fitful, and capable of great changes, sudden turns for the better as well as the worse. The men who are trying to gamble with our foreign policy are by no means in complete control of the reins of history. They are only grappling for these reins. The British people have not yet spoken, nor have the American people. The enormous pressure on the President and the attempt to drive him toward the right, in preparation for the 1944 elections, cannot deceive anyone at all; for the men who are pressing upon him will be the first to knife him if they have the opportunity.

There is a struggle of forces here, now in the open. And it is labor with other democratic elements, who must see the situation clearly and give battle for a correct war policy and a national foreign policy. It is a moment when all illusions about the seriousness of the situation must be cast aside, not out of panic, but out of resolve to fight back and win. It strikes me as a moment when the invitation to unity in A. B. Magil's recent letter to Max Lerner is more compelling than ever: no considerations of the past, differences of temper and distemper are of significance in face of the stakes that confront our nation.

JOSEPH STAROBIN.

The Young Pioneers

(The Young Pioneers of Russia have served heroically in the war, not only in salvage and air raid warning but also as scouts and guerrillas.)

These are our children,
with twelve-year-old eyes
clear as water at twilight
under quiet stars.
Their eyes know
love and safety;
the sunlight full of wind,
the darkness full of sleep.
Their eyes know also
the color of blood.
Their eyes have learned
the bright whiteness of bones
come bursting through flesh;
the roofless house,
the headless body.
These are our children;
they have been learning
the sunlight full of steel,
the darkness full of fire.
Their eyes have been learning
how to fight.
Children, your hands
will bring back love and safety
to the fields of our country;
the bread and wine
of tomorrow morning.
Keep on fighting,
children, children.

"The Young Pioneers" is from the forthcoming anthology "War Poems of the United Nations," edited by Joy Davidman, to be published by Dial Press in late October.

A. BEZMENSKY.
(*adapted by Joy Davidman*).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LABOR GIRDS FOR THE POLLS

Louis Budenz notes some recent developments in the growth of trade union political maturity. Moves toward greater unity. The picture on Labor Day 1943.

As THE recess of the Seventy-eighth Congress approaches its close, labor can be said to have begun to cast aside its political swaddling clothes. During the past sixty days the trade unions' process of growing up in the political sphere has been particularly pronounced. Down in the grass roots the naive idea that Congress can be allowed to fend for itself has been tossed out the window. With it has been discarded, in large part, the equally childish concept that the various sections of the labor movement can clash with each other politically and not be damaged thereby.

The realization has grown all through the country that the electorate must bring its views to the congressman's front door, and that it is united labor pressure which will register the maximum results in Washington after September 14.

Of the half a thousand representatives and senators who will bustle to Capitol Hill next week, the great majority have seen and heard their labor constituents while "back home." A number of them still have their ears burning from the lashing they received at public meetings in their communities for their bad records in the past session. Some few carry with them labor commendations which will stir them to new efforts on labor's behalf and therefore for anti-Axis victory.

A quick glance through the country gives us some inkling of the mature manner in which large sections of the labor movement have set about this job. In practically every city of any size the local trade unions have now understood that general exhortations to their representatives and senators are not enough, that good hard work of a "brass tacks," house-to-house character is also essential.

IN BALTIMORE, for instance, the CIO council invited the local congressman, John Baldwin, to come in person to a large meeting and give an account of himself. He was hard put to it to present any cogent excuse for his vote in favor of the Smith-Connally anti-labor bill, finally broke down and admitted the measure was caused by John L. Lewis. Mr. Baldwin also stumbled and stammered badly when put on the spot for voting against subsidies.

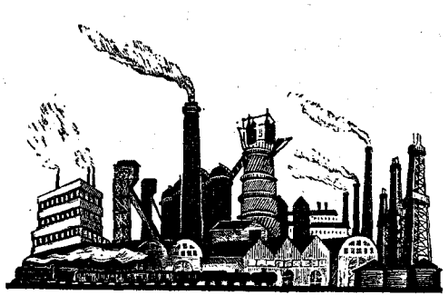
In Buffalo the CIO council also has sprung into action. The records of the congressmen have been widely distributed and face-to-face talks have been carried on. The United Office and Professional Workers of America, the white-collar organization, has announced a big follow-up to its "crusade on Washington" which led it to send a delegation of 150 secretaries, stenographers, and rank-and-file clerks to the capital in mid-July. The mammoth international unions, such as the United Automobile Workers and the United Steel Workers, have urged their local unions to step up cooperative political work with the national CIO in every state.

As a result, the big war production center of Detroit has become a bee-hive of political activity. Into every household come publications dealing with labor's views regarding the Seventy-eighth Congress and the vital national election campaign of 1944. Rallies of a neighborhood and citywide character bring home to the workers how crucial is the present test of strength in the Congress and throughout the nation. Local union meetings discuss the measures to be taken and committees to be created in order to put every ounce of energy into the campaign. The spectacle of the big Ford local of the United Automobile Workers bringing their views and demands to Michigan's Senator Ferguson, is an index of how far this stepping-up of the political drive has gone. It is in happy contrast to the old days, not so very far back, when the workers at the Ford Motor Co. had no organized avenue of political information or expression.

Scores upon scores of such instances could be paraded before the reader in a long roll call, each of them recording that labor is trying, with considerable success, to gain stature politically in order to meet the tests and trials of the wartime crisis.

This mounting maturity is recorded further in the progressive programs which are being increasingly put forward, in the advance of labor unity on the political field, and in the practical measures being adopted to guarantee widespread participation by the workers in the coming elections.

A sense of proportion and caution requires noting that much more must still be done in every one of these respects, that labor has still a long way to go if it is to bring its full power and pressure to bear upon the present Congress and in the national balloting tests. When, nonetheless, the Ohio State Federation of Labor signalizes its 1943 convention by adopting a strong resolution for an immediate second front in Europe and recognizes how this second front issue is linked up with the battle against the defeatists and with labor's fight on the home front—that is one of many samples of the way labor is working out a political program that will fully aid anti-Axis victory.



Then, cooperation among the CIO, AFL, and Railroad Brotherhood affiliates on a state and community basis—which in reality constitutes a separate chapter in itself—has been considerably extended and invigorated. Indeed, if there has been one development more outstanding than any other in labor's political activities of late, it has been this steady continuance and extension of working relationships on local and state scales. In California this has led to a formal alliance of all three groups on the political field. In Pennsylvania it has brought into being an organized working arrangement on a statewide basis among the three bodies, with joint meetings in such cities as Philadelphia. This cooperation was typified recently in a vivid way through a public rally in Erie, Pa., when President James McDevitt of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor spoke from the same platform with Michael Quill, president of the CIO Transport Workers Union. In Indiana, Arizona, Illinois, Wisconsin—to cull out states at random—unity within the labor camp on political matters has been markedly stepped up.

ACROSS the Hudson from New York the good fruits of such unity have been graphically illustrated. Political prophets wagged their heads knowingly when there were rumors that the candidate around whom the New Jersey labor movement would consolidate its forces with the Democratic Party of that state would be a labor man, the mayor of Newark. They thought this to be some more idle gossip, such as has been heard before about the "labor vote" and "labor candidates."

It proved to be decidedly otherwise. The mighty Hague and the rebellious Edison both discovered that only support of Mayor Vincent Murphy offered any hope for success in uniting all the win-the-war camps in the Skeeter State—with AFL, CIO,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and Railroad Brotherhoods literally joining hands to forward such a result. It is now evident that if the alliance so cemented is made a full-blown statewide reality—as it now promises to be—then New Jersey will have demonstrated decisively what the united power of labor and its allies can achieve in carrying out the policies of the Commander-in-Chief.

Of course, the election of Murphy to the governor's chair would not mark the first time that a trade unionist has held high public office in New Jersey. During the Woodrow Wilson days, William Hughes served first as congressman and then as US senator from that state, and as a "trade union representative" was able to obtain some legislation favorable to labor. But at that time the emphasis was more on the old AFL idea of "supporting our friends" and electing "card men," instead of labor's uniting to exert its independent leadership among the people, as is becoming more and more the case today. It was not Hague or Edison who was the political godfather of Murphy in this current instance, but the united labor movement of the state. That makes a whale of a difference from labor's position and attitude in the Hughes days.

Those who wish to block such unity of labor because they recognize it as the backbone of the means to anti-Axis victory have testified to their fears by the falsehoods they spread about labor's exercise of its united power in New Jersey. Even in the British labor unions, on the eve of the current Trades Union Congress there, a rumor has gone round that "the American Communists have made an alliance with the fascist Mayor of Jersey City." Why do such forces so caricature this unity achievement and the discussion that preceded it? Because they are afraid of it—afraid of its healthy meaning in the national political scene.

Of course, such unity developments have not proceeded without difficulties and some defeats. In New York the Dubinsky usurpation of control in the American Labor Party is leading to ugly consequences. Simultaneously, the Woll-Hutcheson crowd in the American Federation of Labor's executive council has prevented it from accepting the unity offer of the CIO National Political Action Committee. It is noteworthy, however, so strong is the urge for unity that in the Empire State every group in the labor camp has now rallied behind the Democratic Party's candidate for Lieutenant Governor in the special election for that post. President William Green of the AFL likewise felt the pressure of unity so definitely that in his very statement rejecting the CIO offer, he indicated that there would be cooperative activities on many issues and in regard to many candidates.

Labor's coming of age politically has made itself felt in the arrangements initiated in many localities for guaranteeing the workers' participation in our democratic processes. A rounded-out political program is essential, unity to carry it through is of the utmost urgency—but these are as yet of little avail if safeguards are not taken to make sure that labor will be able to go to the polls and vigorously register its opinion.

This entire feature has become a prime necessity today, when the migration of hundreds of thousands of war workers from one center to another has complicated their political status and their voting rights. In some states a full year's residence there is a prerequisite for voting. In addition, limitations are set down in regard to residence requirements in local political sub-divisions. A whole series of questions is raised for the voter moving from Tennesee to Detroit or even from New York to Connecticut.

Reports from many war centers give encouraging proof that the unions are getting busy at safeguarding the workers' right to vote, getting them to register for the 1944 national elections, and advising them on detailed technical voting requirements. This is a tremendous job, and it is a part of labor's wider citizenship in every community that this is being tackled in so many neighborhoods by the union organizations. The millions of votes lost in the last congressional elections, with sorry results, can be recovered if this vote-saving campaign is carried out throughout the country.

At the heart of many of these activities are the national committees organized by the Congress of Industrial Organizations under the leadership of President Philip Murray. It is the committee for influencing Congress which has stimulated most of the "town meetings" with congressmen which have been features in countless communities during the congressional recess. It is the CIO National Political Action Committee, under the chairmanship of Sidney Hillman, which has set into motion much of the machinery now beginning to hum in local communities for the 1944 campaign. This committee has also provided an avenue for labor unity and wider cooperation with farmer and consumer groups through its five-point program adopted in mid-July.

Labor's ripening political wisdom was demonstrated, too, in the attitude of this Hillman committee on the question of third parties this year. The revolt over the passage of the Smith-Connally bill had in many instances taken the form of urging labor to act in a more independent capacity. In most cases this has been a healthy sentiment, based on the desire to make labor an effective leader in the nation's political life. The defeatists around John L. Lewis and his allies in the Dubinsky camp have made a strenuous effort to twist and turn this feeling into the formation of anti-unity third parties.

The Hillman committee has rejected this idea. It has left the matter of labor parties up to the various states, pointing out nevertheless that the creation of such parties at this time would frequently be made the vehicle for disunity and the weakening of labor's strength in the elections.

It is deeply regrettable that the offer of this committee for united action was turned down by the Chicago meeting of the AFL executive council. The AFL, whose membership has indicated its opinions in a number of such splendid conventions as that of the Ohio state federation, officially still remains an obstacle to carrying out a mature political policy by united American labor. The AFL rank-and-file have a distinct responsibility at this time to help make the growing up of labor in the political field a full-fledged reality. They have had influence enough to make the continuance of the United Combined Labor Victory Committee, which meets regularly with President Roosevelt, a going thing in American life. They have nullified the Woll-Hutcheson intrigues enough to make one executive council meeting after another emphasize the no-strike pledge. They can likewise bring enough weight to bear upon the coming October convention at Boston, if they act vigorously to defeat Lewis' attempted affiliation and to achieve united action with the CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods.

Thanks to the strong lead of the CIO and to the progressive, win-the-war developments within the AFL—as in the Buckeye State—labor will celebrate this Labor Day in a stronger position politically than it has been for some time. And it will require all the strength it can muster. It has a powerful foe to combat in the defeatists and anti-labor groups in Washington. Only by maturing further, and with the utmost rapidity, will it be able to safeguard its own rights and really advance the anti-Axis victory.

Louis F. Budenz.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW YORK'S FIRST LABOR PAPER

The "Working Man's Advocate," printed over a century ago, makes exciting reading today. Echoes of Jefferson and Tom Paine. The fight for public education.

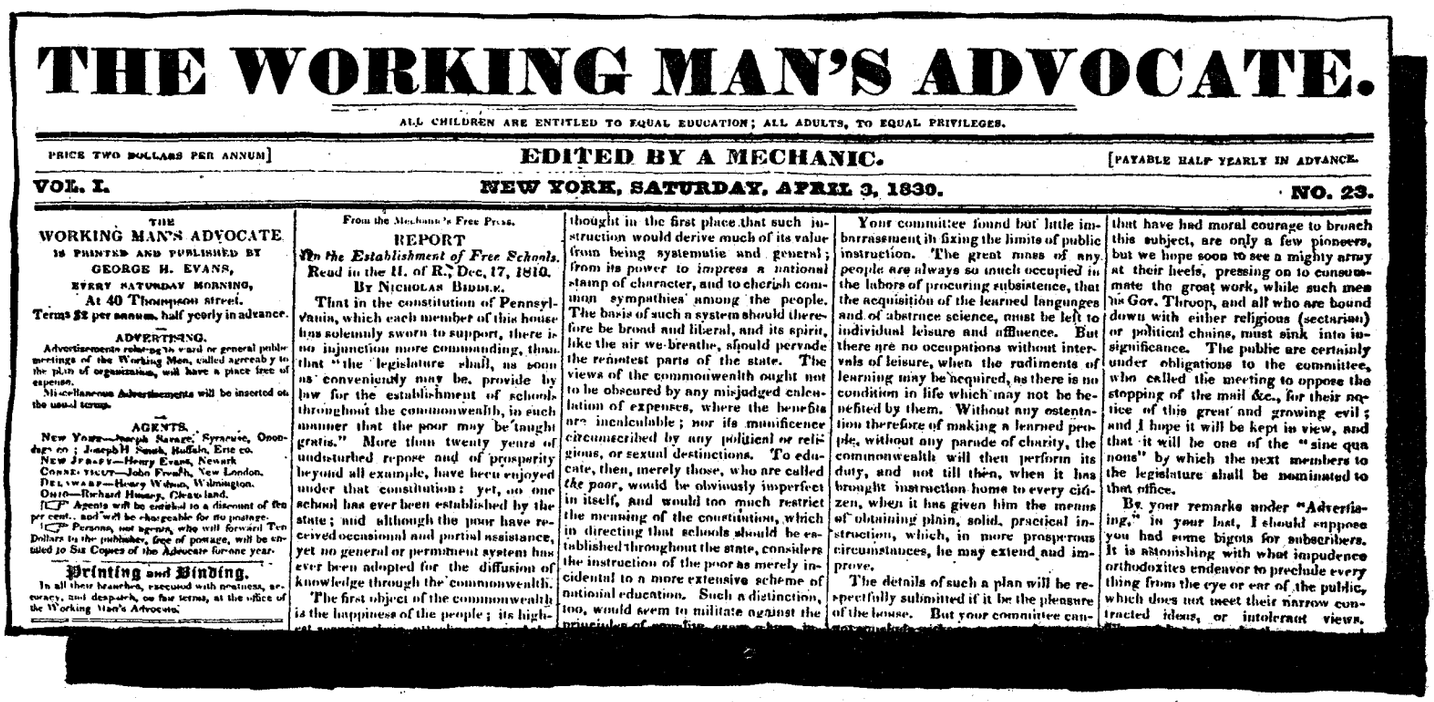
SHORT-LIVED though it was, the Working Man's Party of New York was from its very founding a mass party. Evidence of that lies in its meetings of 3,000 and even 5,000 in the New York of 1829 and the early 1830's, when the total population of the city was only 270,000 and the eligible voters numbered 43,000. Proof is the fact that the party's first ticket in November 1829 polled 6,000 of the 21,000 votes cast and elected a carpenter, Ebenezer Ford, to the State Assembly. The new party had appealed to the working men of the city, and the total number of workers in organized trades was then only about 11,000. Such a movement needed, and had, its own press, of which the most important example was *The Working Man's Advocate*, a weekly which began publication on Oct. 31, 1829, under the editorship of the printer, George Henry Evans.

The size of its circulation is not recorded, though it probably was a few hundred; but it must be remembered that *The Courier and Enquirer* of New York, with the largest circulation in the country, claimed 4,500 in 1833, and not many others reached even half that figure. Nevertheless, those few hundred copies of the *Advocate* were influential, and were read by alert working men in New Jersey, Connecticut, Delaware, and Ohio. There, in its four weekly pages, and in a type often so small that no modern publisher would dare use it, th ould find the columns packed with t iews of labor's political awakening as a ss. There were the texts of speeches aglow with the working man's just indignation, the eloquent, dignified resolutions asserting his rights.

THE movement spread: meetings were reported of the "Mechanics and Other Working Men," and sometimes of the farmers with them, in Newark, in Rochester, in Boston, in Albany, in Philadelphia, Utica, Troy, Harrisburg, and Charleston, S. C. And with the reports there was almost always the text of the brave resolutions, sometimes as many as fifteen of them. There would be reprints of articles and editorials from other newspapers—the reader could find out what the *Eastern Galaxy* (Maine) thought of the clergy's attempts to prohibit the mails from moving on Sundays, or what *The Spirit of the Age* (Tuscaloosa, Ala.) had written on "Popular Education," or what the *Norwich Republican* thought of voting for men of your own class. The New York working men found much to move their hearts and minds in these four full pages, and full they were, with perhaps a column or two of advertising matter, in contrast to the commercial papers, which often gave three-quarters or more of their space to advertisements.

Reading the gray and fading pages is exciting and instructive even today, and not only for the antiquarian. There, more than a century ago, one found that American workers grappled with problems of working class theory and made contributions that we should begin to appreciate and to remember. Some of the problems were elementary. "A Mechanic" inquires, in the issue of April 3, 1830, what a working man is, and what should be the attitude of a mechanic to non-mechanics or to former mechanics. Evans replies editorially that all useful workers, including farmers, are acceptable in the party; that grocers, druggists, retail clerks, and general shipping merchants do useful work; that among those who follow useless occupations are lawyers, brokers, and bankers "under the present banking system." When Thomas Skidmore, proponent of a program of dividing the landed estates (he had split with the party, created his own faction, and established his own weekly paper, *The Friend of Equal Rights*), tries to draw the line vaguely between rich and poor, Evans insists it should be drawn "between the useful and the useless classes" (April 24, 1830), for a man might have saved even $500 and still be useful and eligible for the Working Man's Party.

With the factory system spreading from New England down into New York and Pennsylvania, workers were compelled to analyze the relation of labor-saving machinery to their own plight. For months the pages of the *Advocate* were filled with



THE WORKING MAN'S ADVOCATE.

ALL CHILDREN ARE ENTITLED TO EQUAL EDUCATION; ALL ADULTS, TO EQUAL PRIVILEGES.

PRICE TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM] EDITED BY A MECHANIC. [PAYABLE HALF YEARLY IN ADVANCE.

VOL. I. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1830. NO. 23.

THE WORKING MAN'S ADVOCATE IS PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY GEORGE H. EVANS, EVERY SATURDAY MORNING, At 40 Thompson street. Terms $2 per annum, half yearly in advance.

ADVERTISING.

Advertisements relating to ward or general public meetings of the Working Men, called agreeably to the plan of organization, will have a place free of expense.

Miscellaneous Advertisements will be inserted on the usual terms.

AGENTS.

New York—Joseph Savage, Syracuse, Onondaga co.; Joseph Scott, Buffalo, Erie co.
New Jersey—Henry Evans, Newark
Connecticut—John Proudh, New London.
Delaware—Henry Wilson, Wilmington.
Ohio—Richard Hussey, Cleaveland.

☞ Agents will be entitled to a discount of ten per cent. and will be chargeable for no postage.

☞ Persons, not agents, who will forward Ten Dollars to the publisher, free of postage, will be entitled to Six Copies of the Advocate for one year.

Printing and Binding.

In all their branches, executed with neatness, accuracy, and despatch, on fair terms, at the office of the Working Man's Advocate.

From the Mechanic's Free Press.

REPORT

On the Establishment of Free Schools.

Read in the H. of R., Dec. 17, 1810.

By Nicholas Biddle.

That in the constitution of Pennsylvania, which each member of this house has solemnly sworn to support, there is no injunction more commanding, than that "the legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the commonwealth, in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis." More than twenty years of undisturbed repose and of prosperity beyond all example, have been enjoyed under that constitution: yet, no one school has ever been established by the state; and although the poor have received occasional and partial assistance, yet no general or permanent system has ever been adopted for the diffusion of knowledge through the commonwealth.

The first object of the commonwealth is the happiness of the people; its highest duty is to protect their rights. It is thought in the first place that such instruction would derive much of its value from being systematic and general; from its power to impress a national stamp of character, and to cherish common sympathies among the people. The basis of such a system should therefore be broad and liberal, and its spirit, like the air we breathe, should pervade the remotest parts of the state. The views of the commonwealth ought not to be obscured by any misjudged calculation of expenses, where the benefits are incalculable; nor its munificence circumscribed by any political or religious, or sexual distinctions. To educate, then, merely those, who are called *the poor*, would be obviously imperfect in itself, and would too much restrict the meaning of the constitution, which in directing that schools should be established throughout the state, considers the instruction of the poor as merely incidental to a more extensive scheme of national education. Such a distinction, too, would seem to militate against the principles of our free [illegible]

Your committee found but little embarrassment in fixing the limits of public instruction. The great mass of any people are always so much occupied in the labors of procuring subsistence, that the acquisition of the learned languages and of abstruse science, must be left to individual leisure and affluence. But there are no occupations without intervals of leisure, when the rudiments of learning may be acquired, as there is no condition in life which may not be benefited by them. Without any ostentation therefore of making a learned people, without any parade of charity, the commonwealth will then perform its duty, and not till then, when it has brought instruction home to every citizen, when it has given him the means of obtaining plain, solid, practical instruction, which, in more prosperous circumstances, he may extend and improve.

The details of such a plan will be respectfully submitted if it be the pleasure of the house. But your committee cannot [illegible]

that have had moral courage to broach this subject, are only a few pioneers, but we hope soon to see a mighty army at their heels, pressing on to consummate the great work, while such men as Gov. Throop, and all who are bound down with either religious (sectarian) or political chains, must sink into insignificance. The public are certainly under obligations to the committee, who called the meeting to oppose the stopping of the mail &c., for their notice of this great and growing evil; and I hope it will be kept in view, and that it will be one of the "sine qua nons" by which the next members to the legislature shall be nominated to that office.

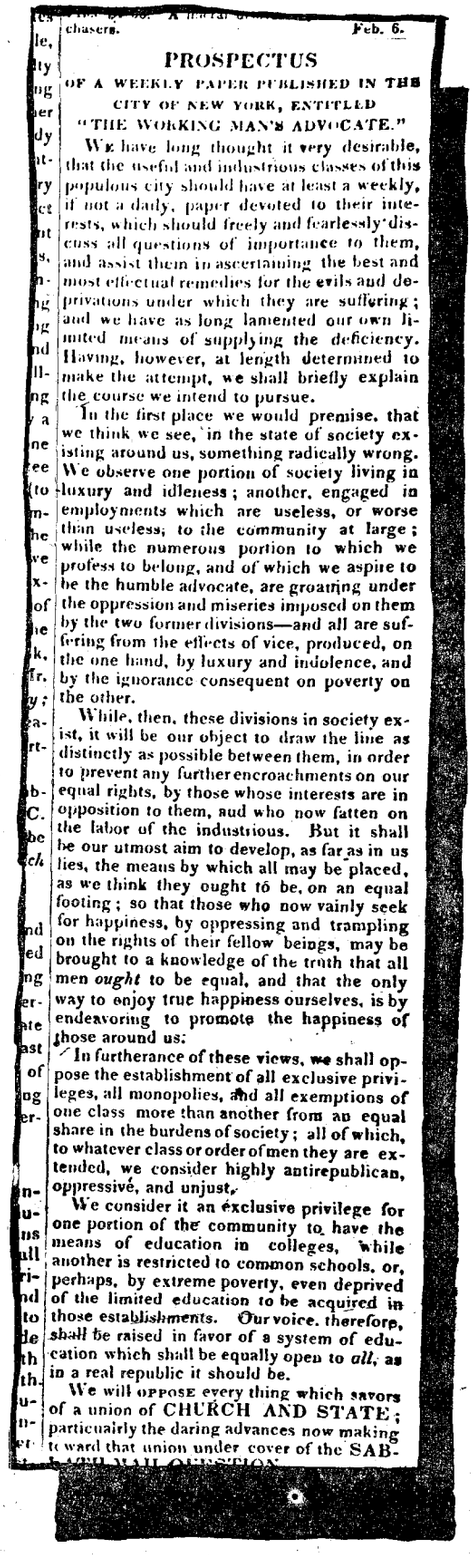
By your remarks under "Advertising," in your last, I should suppose you had some bigots for subscribers. It is astonishing with what impudence orthodoxites endeavor to preclude every thing from the eye or ear of the public, which does not meet their narrow contracted ideas, or intolerant views.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

long letters and articles on the subject, the best of them by Robert Dale Owen, son of the famous English Utopian Socialist, Robert Owen. Answering the letter of W. J., who had ascribed poverty to over-population, Owen sternly and shrewdly wrote: "These enormities will continue, and will increase, so long as the labor of human beings is sold in the commercial market" (Feb. 13, 1830). Later, to correct a misinterpretation, he stated: "I by no means consider labor saving machinery in itself an evil, but on the contrary a great good; I simply express my conviction, that labor saving machinery, *as at present directed and controlled*, works against the poor man; and not, as it ought to work, in his favor" (March 13, 1830, original italics).

Although these discussions continued for a long time, it is unfortunate that the *Advocate* did not begin to pay more attention to the news of factory conditions themselves. In fact, one misses throughout news of the trade unions in New York (or elsewhere) and of labor conditions. The Working Men's Party, although supported by many of the unions, made no effort to encourage trade union organization and exhibited little interest in the strikes, wage struggles, or other activities of the unions. Political action alone was to solve all the problems of the working men. From the *Advocate* one does not learn too much about the way the working people made a living or lived. We note that storekeepers work from 7 AM to 10 PM, and the editor urges them to unite to reduce their hours to eight or ten. Working women write in to complain about their condition as domestic workers or as seamstresses, and one man suggests that they "hold a general meeting; form a code of regulations; and establish prices. Or, if they cannot do it themselves, that some benevolent men call and organize one. . . ." (Sept. 11, 1830). There is objection to the cheating practices of "Intelligence Offices" (employment agencies). But the specific grievances that exercise the party and the *Advocate* most are imprisonment for debts (of even less than five dollars) and the absence of a mechanics' lien law which would assure workers in the building trades that they would get paid for their labor when the structure was completed. On these issues the party scored its most important achievements, for in 1831 it got the state legislature to abolish imprisonment for debt and in 1832 to pass a partial mechanics' lien law.

CLASS consciousness is of course bright in all these pages, and some of the formulations are extremely happy. In a reprint from Orestes A. Brownson's *Genesee Republican and Herald of Reform*, for example, there is this: "Fellow citizens, you have not attended to your own interests. You have entrusted them to the guardian-



chasers. Feb. 6.

PROSPECTUS

OF A WEEKLY PAPER PUBLISHED IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK, ENTITLED "THE WORKING MAN'S ADVOCATE."

We have long thought it very desirable, that the useful and industrious classes of this populous city should have at least a weekly, if not a daily, paper devoted to their interests, which should freely and fearlessly discuss all questions of importance to them, and assist them in ascertaining the best and most effectual remedies for the evils and deprivations under which they are suffering; and we have as long lamented our own limited means of supplying the deficiency. Having, however, at length determined to make the attempt, we shall briefly explain the course we intend to pursue.

In the first place we would premise, that we think we see, in the state of society existing around us, something radically wrong. We observe one portion of society living in luxury and idleness; another, engaged in employments which are useless, or worse than useless, to the community at large; while the numerous portion to which we profess to belong, and of which we aspire to be the humble advocate, are groaning under the oppression and miseries imposed on them by the two former divisions—and all are suffering from the effects of vice, produced, on the one hand, by luxury and indolence, and by the ignorance consequent on poverty on the other.

While, then, these divisions in society exist, it will be our object to draw the line as distinctly as possible between them, in order to prevent any further encroachments on our equal rights, by those whose interests are in opposition to them, and who now fatten on the labor of the industrious. But it shall be our utmost aim to develop, as far as in us lies, the means by which all may be placed, as we think they ought to be, on an equal footing; so that those who now vainly seek for happiness, by oppressing and trampling on the rights of their fellow beings, may be brought to a knowledge of the truth that all men *ought* to be equal, and that the only way to enjoy true happiness ourselves, is by endeavoring to promote the happiness of those around us.

In furtherance of these views, we shall oppose the establishment of all exclusive privileges, all monopolies, and all exemptions of one class more than another from an equal share in the burdens of society; all of which, to whatever class or order of men they are extended, we consider highly antirepublican, oppressive, and unjust.

We consider it an exclusive privilege for one portion of the community to have the means of education in colleges, while another is restricted to common schools, or, perhaps, by extreme poverty, even deprived of the limited education to be acquired in those establishments. Our voice, therefore, shall be raised in favor of a system of education which shall be equally open to *all*, as in a real republic it should be.

We will oppose every thing which savors of a union of CHURCH AND STATE; particularly the daring advances now making toward that union under cover of the SAB-

The "Advocate" explains its aims. The emphasis on universal democratic principles, expressed in references to the "equal rights" of mankind, opposition to oppression and injustice—these have the ring of Jeffersonianism which permeated the pages of the "Advocate." One of the first aims stated in the paper deals with a subject on which the Working Man's Party made a most vigorous campaign—public education. It also fought unceasingly against any attempt to break down the American tradition of separating church and state.

ship of those who live by your own labor. . . . The rich make the laws; and they can and often do make such laws as will best promote their exclusive interest. Do they wish to oppress the working man—they first make the law suit the case, and then oppress *according to law*. . ." (March 13, 1830). Nevertheless, these labor party men were thinking in terms of the *nation* as a whole too. The same issue of the *Advocate* carried a reprint from the Rochester *Spirit of the Ages* ". . . the cause of the working men, does not seek the aid, support, or countenance, of any party, as such. Their ranks are not, and must not be, marked by any invidious distinctions—their cause is the cause of their country—their object is to tear up by the roots the noxious weed of aristocracy. . . . The Working Men's Party, if such a party be called into action, and that there be, we have every reason to believe, WILL BE THE ONLY LEGITIMATE REPUBLICAN PARTY THAT CAN EXIST IN THIS COUNTRY—their object will be to secure the rights of the *middling classes*, and break the chains which wealth has thrown around us; . . ." (original emphasis). When the Young Working Men of Troy met to launch a Party they defined their "grand object" as "transmitting to posterity our free government, pure and uncontaminated, and showing the world that we are not unworthy of the blood and treasure spent to make us freemen" (April 24, 1830).

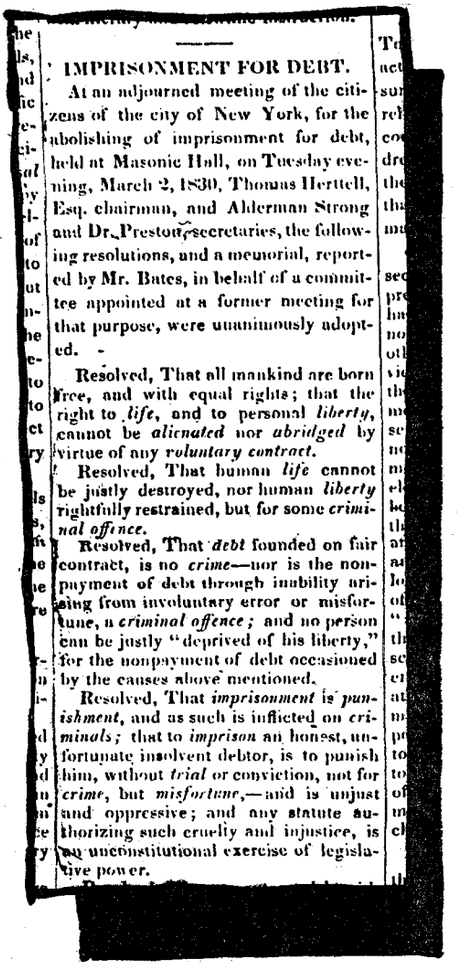
The Revolution was constantly in their mind, and quotations from Paine and Jefferson were common in their pages. The Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles Ely of Philadelphia might wish "the odious infidelity of Tom Paine and Thomas Jefferson to be forgotten" for "the honour of our country," but the *Advocate* devoted many columns to them. When the Society of Free Enquirers celebrated Paine's birthday with a dinner at Tammany Hall, the *Advocate* printed the chief addresses and the toasts to Paine, Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Joel Barlow, Miss Frances Wright ("the able—the fearless heroine of liberality and education") and to Shelley, "the man that feared nothing, save to do a bad action" (Jan. 30, 1830). A similar celebration in Albany was reported (March 6, 1830), with toasts to Hume, Gibbon, Diderot, Condorcet, Spinoza, Voltaire, Shelley and Byron, Frances Wright, the Indian Chief Red Jacket, and to Madames Wolstoncraft and de Stael. Aroused by attacks on Paine in the commercial press, "A Mechanic" writes to the *Advocate* (Feb. 6, 1830): "That Paine was too apt to indulge in the use of ardent spirits, may be true; but a communication in your last, shows that more than Paine have been guilty of this degrading vice . . . and shame it is to Americans, that they have never done that justice to his memory, which he is so justly entitled to; . . ."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It may have been from Paine and Jefferson that the party and the *Advocate* derived their preoccupation with education and with the dangers of clericalism. In "equal, universal, and republican" education they saw the instrument for the liberation of working men and for the proper democratic government of the country. They were incessant in their campaigning, and unquestionably contributed mightily to the founding of our public school system, although it did not quite turn out to be the solution to all problems as they had expected. So vital was the issue to them, however, that one of the party splits that ultimately helped ruin the movement was on the principles of education. When his program of a "state guardianship" system that involved boarding schools for all children was rejected by the majority, Robert Dale Owen formed his own faction and began the publication, with Frances Wright and R. L. Jennings, of *The Free Enquirer*. The interest in education of course included an interest in establishing libraries, and in literary standards. For instance, an editorial on Aug. 28, 1830, disagrees with *The Courier and Enquirer's* views that Bulwer's "Paul Clifford" is "decidedly immoral," and goes on to this noteworthy comment: "Scott's novels, admirable as they are, breathe of aristocracy throughout. Bulwer's of democracy. . . . Bulwer (to use his own words) 'seeks to show, in the depravities of character the depravities of the social state in which character is formed.' Is not this a legitimate, a praiseworthy object?" And is Bulwer's not an excellent formulation of the problem of the social novelist, the democratic writer?

The other preoccupation, with the menace of clericalism, had less fortunate results. Although the *Advocate's* often professed and reiterated object was only to prevent the union of church and state and to steer clear of religious controversy, it really paid far too much attention to the problem. Evans might write: "This question of connecting religion with politics, we are convinced, is the *only* one which will afford our enemies—who care neither for religion nor irreligion in the abstract—the least advantage over us; hence it is of the utmost importance that we resist all attempts to introduce it among us" (May 1, 1830). But in practice by filing entire pages with exposes of the American Bible Society and by the sheer volume of space given to an issue like that of the Sunday mails, he not only created the impression that the movement was anti-religious as well as anti-clerical but also neglected to pay attention to more immediate problems of the working men. To judge by Evans' later editorial ventures, he came to the same conclusion and avoided an excess of anti-clericalism.

With a heritage like that of Paine and Jefferson it was to be expected that the



IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT.

At an adjourned meeting of the citizens of the city of New York, for the abolishing of imprisonment for debt, held at Masonic Hall, on Tuesday evening, March 2, 1830, Thomas Hertell, Esq. chairman, and Alderman Strong and Dr. Preston, secretaries, the following resolutions, and a memorial, reported by Mr. Bates, in behalf of a committee appointed at a former meeting for that purpose, were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That all mankind are born free, and with equal rights; that the right to *life*, and to personal *liberty*, cannot be *alienated* nor *abridged* by virtue of any *voluntary contract*.

Resolved, That human *life* cannot be justly destroyed, nor human *liberty* rightfully restrained, but for some *criminal offence*.

Resolved, That *debt* founded on fair contract, is no *crime*—nor is the non-payment of debt through inability arising from involuntary error or misfortune, a *criminal offence;* and no person can be justly "deprived of his liberty," for the nonpayment of debt occasioned by the causes above mentioned.

Resolved, That *imprisonment* is *punishment*, and as such is inflicted on *criminals;* that to *imprison* an honest, unfortunate insolvent debtor, is to punish him, without *trial* or conviction, not for *crime*, but *misfortune*,—and is unjust and oppressive; and any statute authorizing such cruelty and injustice, is an unconstitutional exercise of legislative power.

One of the most successful crusades carried on by the Working Man's Party and its journal, the "Advocate," was to end the inhuman practice of imprisoning debtors (even very small ones) for inability to pay what they owed. Notice the eloquent indignation of the resolution above, reported in the "Advocate" of April 3, 1830. It was due to the party's campaign that in 1831 the New York State Legislature finally abolished imprisonment for debt.

Advocate would be keenly interested in the cause of working men and democracy abroad. Of course news traveled very slowly then, and although it might be new it was seldom timely. But within these limitations, the *Advocate* is very much alive. One of the earliest and most curious bits is from Port au Prince, Haiti: "Dear sir:—In haste I drop you a line, to inform you that Miss Wright arrived here about twelve days since, with thirty slaves, who are now free and well settled in the neighborhood of the last twelve settled by you, on a place of the President's. The Spaniards have not arrived yet, and they had better not" (April 10, 1830). There are items about the Greek "noble struggle for freedom," about an insurrection against the Dutch in Java, about "the wretched state of Ireland . . . ripe for revolution," about the fall of Algiers.

But the heights of exultation are reached when news arrives, in September, of the French Revolution of July 1830. The pulse quickens today in reading the pages of news and comment with which Evans filled the *Advocate* for months. ". . . Has France indeed marked the commencement of the period whence shall date the political freedom of the world? Will she, in the old world, establish the first powerful Republic? And, if she does, will Britain, will Germany, will Spain, will Italy follow her footsteps? . . ." (Sept. 11, 1830). Evans is happy that "even in the horrors of such a crisis, the picture gallery of the Louvre was exempted from the general attack on that palace. Yet this was the mob—the *canaille*, who have no sense of moderation or regard for refinement!" His spirits continue high: "The other governments of Europe, we may be told, will not permit France to become a republic. She will not require to ask their permission . . ." (Sept. 18, 1830). On September 23 in Philadelphia a meeting of working men hails by resolution "the recent glorious triumph of civil and religious liberty in France" and decide to hold a public dinner in celebration, but they also record their "regret that circumstances induced them (the French) to the adoption of a monarchal form of government instead of one republican." When rumor of invasion continues to arrive, Evans is not alarmed: "It is said that Austria will immediately march 60,000 men into France. If she could march 600,000, it would be . . . but a *drop in the bucket*. France can arm *a million and a half* of National Guards—not slaves, like the soldiers of Austria and Russia, but FREE MEN.—There is no power in Europe—nay, in the civilized world—to oppose a million and a half of Free Men, combatting for their rights" (Oct. 1, 1830). And Lafayette was head of the National Guard too! In the same issue there is news of a Spanish insurrection "and that the cry of liberty has extended beyond the Pyrennes. We talk of 'regenerated France.' We shall soon, we hope, talk of 'regenerated Spain' also." The cry of liberty spreads and monarchs are alarmed, and don't invade France. On October 30 Evans reports that there is trouble in the Netherlands, and that Belgium may separate from Holland.

AS I READ I kept reinforcing my historical perspective by repeatedly checking the date on the *Advocate*. Unmistakably it was 1830. American labor's history is rich, its patriotism rooted in the struggle of 1776 to found a new nation, dedicated to liberty, and an inspiration to other nations. Many of its problems have changed, its level of organization is higher, its theoretical understanding more mature because of the international experience of another century. It is well to recall this early history on a Labor Day on which most American workers will not take their traditional holiday because there are fronts to be supplied.

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S SECRET ARMY

With knives and fists, grenades and machine guns, fire and sabotage, the people fight the invaders. Why Hitler doesn't dare send Czechs to the front.

ON THE evening of March 15, 1939, the Sudeten quisling, Konrad Henlein, and the Czech traitor, Emanuel Moravec, made a promise to the brown-uniformed Nazis who had taken up residence in Prague. "We'll dispose of the Czechs easily," they assured the invaders. "The Czechs are a people who cannot resist the master race." Baron Konstantin von Neurath, at that time "Protector" of Bohemia and Moravia, accepted their glib talk with perfunctory satisfaction.

But that same evening, when the Czechs turned on their radios, they heard the following words: "The voice of free, democratic Czechoslovakia. Since yesterday all radio stations in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia have been taken over by the notorious liar, Goebbels. But we, free and independent Czechoslovaks, will tell you the truth every evening at this same hour. Every evening at this same hour until the day the words of our great President Thomas Masaryk become a reality: 'Truth will triumph! Truth will triumph!'" And from that day forth the voice of liberty-loving Czechoslovakia, defying terror and servitude, was heard.

True, the speakers changed. Sometimes it was a clear boyish voice, sometimes a vibrant woman's voice, and sometimes the slightly quavering voice of an old man—all calling: "Don't give in! Fear not our enemies! Fear not the invaders! Hate them!"

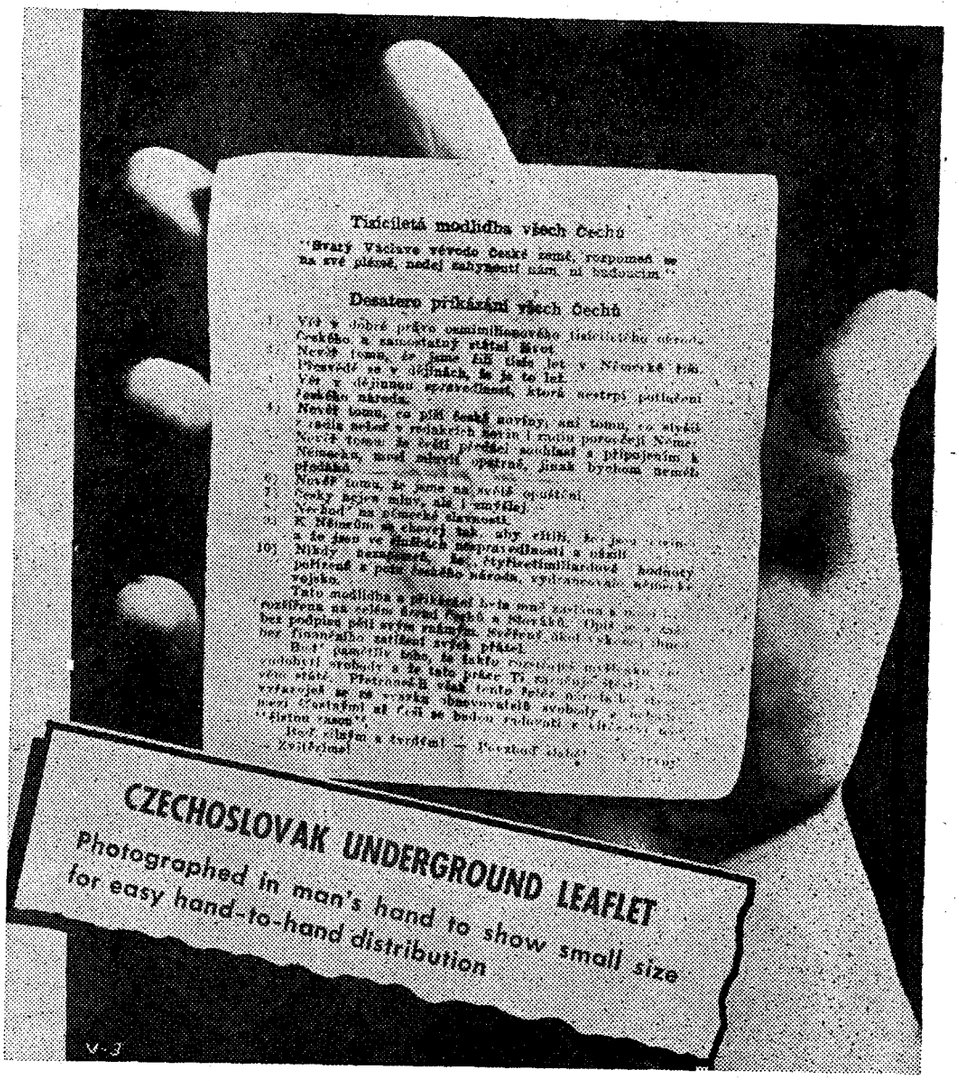
Four years have passed. So far Prague, the city of a hundred spires, and the clean villages of Bohemia have been spared the horrors of aerial bombardment. But the war has not passed Czechoslovakia by. The Nazis have long since found out that it is not easy to dispose of Czechoslovaks. For who can defeat an invisible army stationed everywhere and nowhere, in the ranks of which men, women, and children fight? It is an army possessing every type of weapon: hand grenades and machine guns, knives and fists, fire and sabotage.

On Jan. 8, 1943, two German military trains collided near Prague. More than 100 soldiers were wounded or killed. Transportation was interrupted for forty-eight hours. Several days later a German uniform storehouse in Brunn burned to the ground. The German Army tried to build a munitions dump in the Bohemian-Moravian mountains. The dump has been twice destroyed. In the Slovakian town of Spisska Nova Ves fire greatly damaged a munitions factory. In Bratislava a tremendous fire consumed the largest German department store, Palehner's. On the Bratislava-Zilina express thousands of leaflets were found calling for open revolt against the Nazis.

An article written by the head of the "transport section of the Protectorate," W. Rance, recently appeared on the business page of the Nazi paper in Prague *Der Neue Tag*. Rance's article contains many interesting facts. During 1942 slowdowns in loading and unloading caused a loss of approximately 412,000 transport hours. During July 78,000 freight cars loaded with war material were held up on open stretches of the railway lines; in August, 183,000 cars. In September, 33,000 cars were stalled for weeks because orders previously given were suddenly countermanded, and the cars could not be used elsewhere. Rance threatened Czech railwaymen with severest punishment if they did not change their ways.

For four years now there have been no Czech universities in Czechoslovakia. Most of the theaters have been turned into German theaters. Czech books are no longer printed, on the pretext that paper is unavailable. Nevertheless the Czechs use every means to preserve their culture and educate their children in the democratic spirit of the republic. The number of Czech dictionaries, encyclopedias, and school atlases sold is surprising. Infrequent expositions of the works of Czech painters have record crowds attending them.

Since the outbreak of the war, concerts devoted to Czech music have been forbidden. Dvorak's works are banned because he wrote his "New World" symphony during his stay in the United States and dedicated it to America. Smetana's symphonies and operas, among them the world-famous

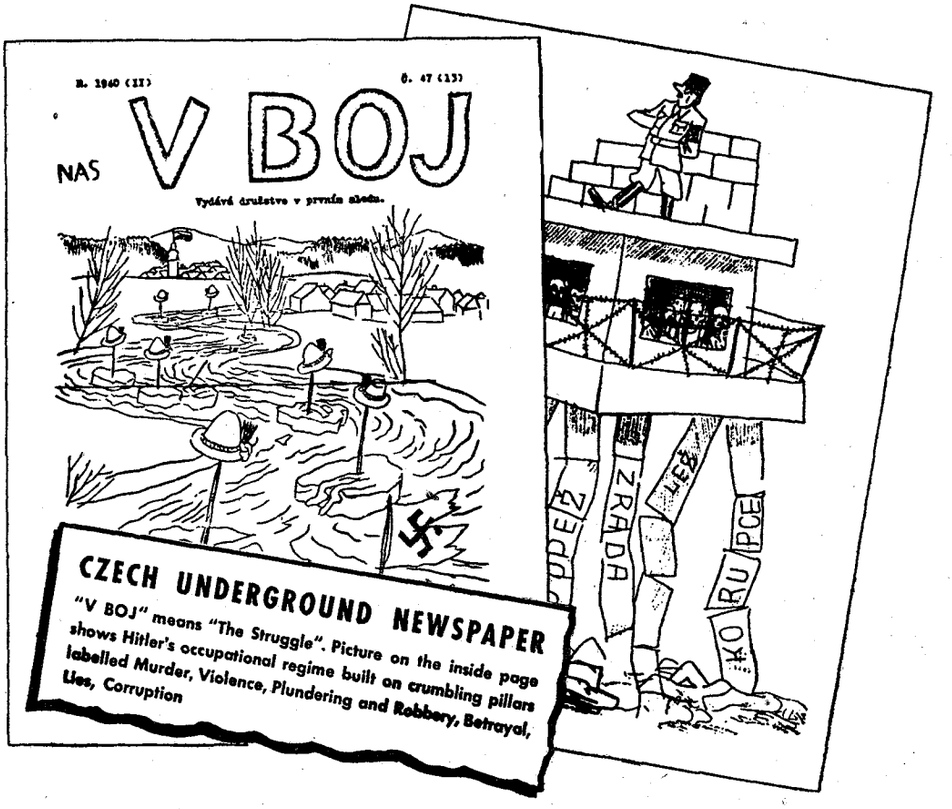

Tiché modlitba všech Čechů
Desatero přikázání všech Čechů
CZECHOSLOVAK UNDERGROUND LEAFLET
Photographed in man's hand to show small size
for easy hand-to-hand distribution

This photostat and those on the following two pages are only a sample of the underground press of occupied Europe—a valiant and invaluable part of the anti-fascist war.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Bartered Bride," must not be performed because they are imbued with love of Bohemia and its people. "The Czechs need no intellectuals," said butcher Heydrich, the former Prussian music student and "protector" of Bohemia and Moravia until he was assassinated. And the law applied to Poland—"Any piece of music or work of art which might give the Poles spiritual sustenance is forbidden"—is also valid in Czechoslovakia.

Expositions of a different sort are provided for the "Bohemian thick-skulls." In December 1942 the Nazi authorities organized in Prague an exhibit of the "Bolshevik paradise." Scenes of misery, hunger, drunkenness, illiteracy, prostitution, and above all atrocities were shown by the Nazis. But the exposition did not achieve its purpose because nobody visited it except members of the Hitler Youth, German officials, and members of the various Nazi organizations. The people of Prague avoided passing the exposition building. It was all the more surprising, therefore, when on a certain day a huge crowd gathered before one of the large windows purporting to show a "Bolshevik torture-chamber." When the crowd scattered, a sign printed in large letters was visible on the showcase window. It read: "Loaned by the Gestapo."


NAS
V BOJ
Týdně družstvo v prvním století.
ZRADA
LEŽ
KORUPCE
CZECH UNDERGROUND NEWSPAPER
"V BOJ" means "The Struggle". Picture on the inside page shows Hitler's occupational regime built on crumbling pillars labelled Murder, Violence, Plundering and Robbery, Betrayal, Lies, Corruption

RECENTLY a special decree was issued in Bohemia forbidding Czechs to sell Jews fruit, vegetables, fish, eggs, sugar, jellies, and bread. In Slovakia there were such violent protests against the deportation of Jews to Poland that the official newspaper *Gardista* was forced to send a special correspondent to one of the Polish ghettos to write an article on the beauties of ghetto life. Thereupon the Slovakian underground drew up a leaflet with the journalist's article on one side, and on the other side the report of an eyewitness from the ghetto of Cracow.

In the first days of January 1943 the Nazi newspaper *Der Neue Tag* in Prague issued a call to all Germans residing there that in the event of an uprising by the Czech population they should immediately phone number 2222, the emergency headquarters of a newly formed special security squad. At the same time weapons were distributed to all "reliable Germans" in Prague, Brunn, Tabor, Pilsen, Budweis, and other cities. For the opposition grows daily. The Gestapo is attempting to stop it by increasing the terror. Official Gestapo statistics for the months of June-December 1942 show that 751 Czechoslovakian citizens were murdered, and it is expressly stated that this figure does not include the victims in the two villages of Lidice and Lezaky. Those murdered belonged to the following professions: fifty-eight employees in private business, fifty-seven government employees, forty-nine soldiers, thirty teachers, twenty-seven professors, twenty-six merchants, fifteen lawyers, eleven engi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LA LIBRE BELGIQUE
Cure de Jouvence!
NE TRAVAILLEZ PAS POUR HITLER
LA MORT
VOUS ATTEND
LA LIBRE BELGIQUE
Belgian Underground Newspaper. Illustration warns: "Don't work for Hitler—Death Awaits You"!

DE·FRIE·DANSKE
No.6
April 1942.
1'Aargang.
VÆR OPMÆRKSOM! BRUG SJÆLDNE!
1. MAJ I FRIHEDSKAMPENS TEGN
Koncentrationslejrene i Danmark
FRIT DANMARK
DANISH UNDERGROUND NEWSPAPERS
De Frie Danske ("The Free Danes") proclaims May 1st as "sign of the fight for liberty". Frit Danmark ("Free Denmark") expresses hope for Allied victory and peace

neers, nine doctors, nine judges, seven architects, six students, six agricultural workers, five salesmen, five bank clerks, three clergymen and three journalists. And 425 workers! The oldest victim is seventy-year-old Mrs. Mikulikova; the youngest is sixteen-year-old Eva Lancikova, who was executed together with her parents. Many families have been completely exterminated.

Up to now Hitler has not dared to send Czechs to the front. Only the so-called "Sudeten Germans" who prepared the way for his invasion of Czechoslovakia enjoy the privilege of dying on the Soviet front. At the end of January the Moscow radio broadcast in the Czech language several letters found on dead German soldiers who had come from Czechoslovakia. Erich Maier from Marienbad wrote on the day before his death: "It is all hopeless. I don't think I will ever come back to you." The Nazi J. Kreiser from Brunn wrote to his friend W. Gross at the front: "This living in barracks bores me. But don't think that military service in Czechoslovakia is easy. A short time ago Franz M was shot in the shoulder by a Czech."

TODAY, after five years of German occupation, guerrilla activity is part of the daily life of Czechoslovakia. At various times the Nazis have tried to send picked units of the *Waffen-SS* against the partisans to crush them once and for all. They have not succeeded. The people convey every bit of useful information to the "green cadres" who live in the vast woods of Bohemia. For the moment the Nazis have given up trying to destroy the guerrillas hidden in the Slovakian mountains. Whoever is unacquainted with those mountains flounders in swamps, plunges over ravines which have been carefully concealed by the guerrillas, loses himself in underground tunnels the entrances to which are suddenly blocked by massive boulders placed there by invisible hands. But it is well-nigh impossible to find the hiding-places of the partisans. The partisans remain in communication with the outside world by shortwave sending and receiving sets and know exactly what is happening on the various war fronts of the world. The "green cadres" in Czechoslovakia know that the leader of the Slovak partisans in Yugoslavia is a Czech, Karel Babler. They know that in the Caucasus and especially in the vicinity of the cities of Novorossisk and Tuapse, Czechs whose families settled there three decades ago are actively fighting behind the German lines. They know that Czech pilots and Czech bombardiers are in the planes dropping death over Berlin and Essen, Lorient and Lille, Milan and Turin. They know that on January 30 of this year the first Czechoslovak units went into battle by the side of the Red Army.

This is Czechoslovakia at war.

LENKA REINER.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TO THE AIR PILOT'S HEALTH

The man who would fly meets with some stern tests first in the way of physical capacities. Saving lives through aviation medicine, a new specialty.

"WE WERE returning from an observation flight over France and for the past two hours an altitude of 13,000 feet had been maintained. The oxygen equipment of Reade, the pilot, had sprung a large leak, but he was feeling okay and he paid little attention. Suddenly, above us and to our right, a flight of German planes appeared and within a few minutes we were engaged in mortal combat. To our surprise and dismay we saw that something was wrong with Reade: he was reacting very slowly, as if half asleep. Almost before we realized it, a German plane was on our tail, our fuselage was ripped from stem to stern, and we were enveloped in flames. Luckily we managed to jump clear."

There is no doubt that this little tale illustrates the effect of partial oxygen lack on pilots—reduced alertness, slowed reaction time, mental lapses, and gross errors in judgment. It is obvious why so much importance is attached to the extensive research conducted on the effects of altitude on the body.

Aviation medicine is a new specialty which embraces the rapidly expanding field of investigation into the body's reaction to the various situations found in flight. It also includes the medical care of aviation personnel and, most important, the meticulous physical selection of candidates for flying school.

An instructor at the aviation school is lecturing to the cadets: "Now in coming in to the airport every attempt is made to effect a three-point landing. When the machine is from six to ten feet above the ground, it is leveled off with the tail slightly below the horizontal and the ship is allowed to float in until the front wheels and the tail skid or tail wheel hit the ground at approximately the same instant. If the airplane is not leveled off soon enough, it flies into the ground, and if the leveling off takes place too high, the machine may pancake in. To accurately judge the proper height a pilot must have excellent depth perception and that is the reason you were carefully examined for this faculty before you were admitted to the school, while those candidates not coming up to standards were eliminated. Good depth perception is also essential to the pilot in avoiding obstacles in the air."

Measurement of depth perception is only one of many methods employed by flight surgeons in their most important function, the careful physical selection of prospective pilots. While it is necessary to eliminate those candidates whose physical condition might prevent their functioning as good pilots, it is just as necessary that every man who qualifies physically should be passed through.

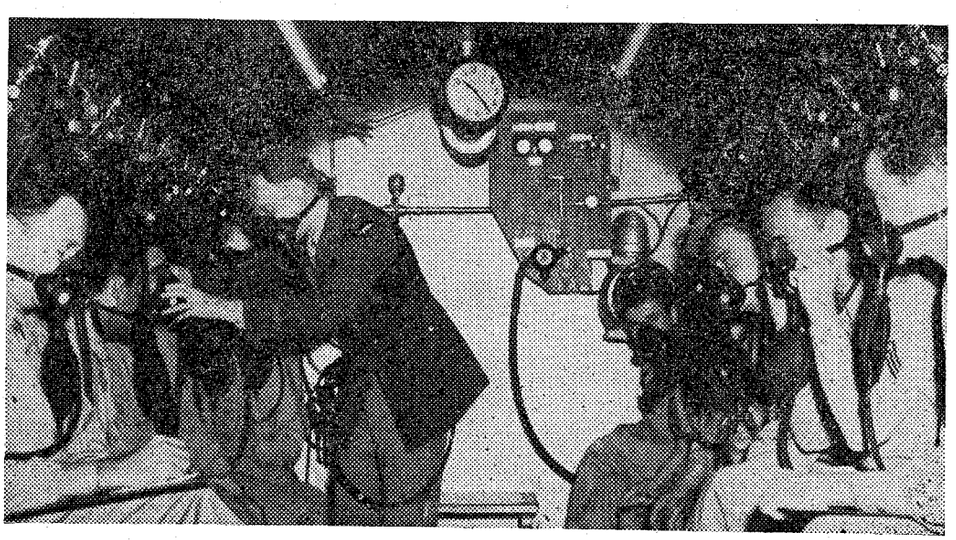
The first step in the examination is a cursory once-over of the examinee for any obvious defects. If, say, the candidate is very stout or very thin, the condition is immediately investigated to determine whether it is sufficient to disqualify him.

Usually those parts of the body most likely to show defects are examined first. At the top of the list is the eye, which must be about perfect in all details. Visual acuity is tested by seating the candidate exactly twenty feet from the Snellen test chart and asking him to read lines of various sized letters with each eye separately. The examinee is disqualified if the visual acuity of either eye is less than 20/20, which is the designation for the ability to decipher the smallest row of letters that can be read by the normal eye. In some cases the examinees are slightly nearsighted or astigmatic even though their visual acuity is good; to eliminate such candidates, thorough refraction is conducted.

Depth perception is measured by an apparatus consisting of two rods. One of them is stationary and upright, but the candidate may move the other away from or toward him by pulling on two cords. He is seated six meters from the stationary rod, and he sees both of them black against an illuminated white background. The examiner places the moveable rod at different distances from the stationary one and the candidate tries to bring it to a position directly beside the other. If he persistently places it more than thirty millimeters off center he is disqualified.

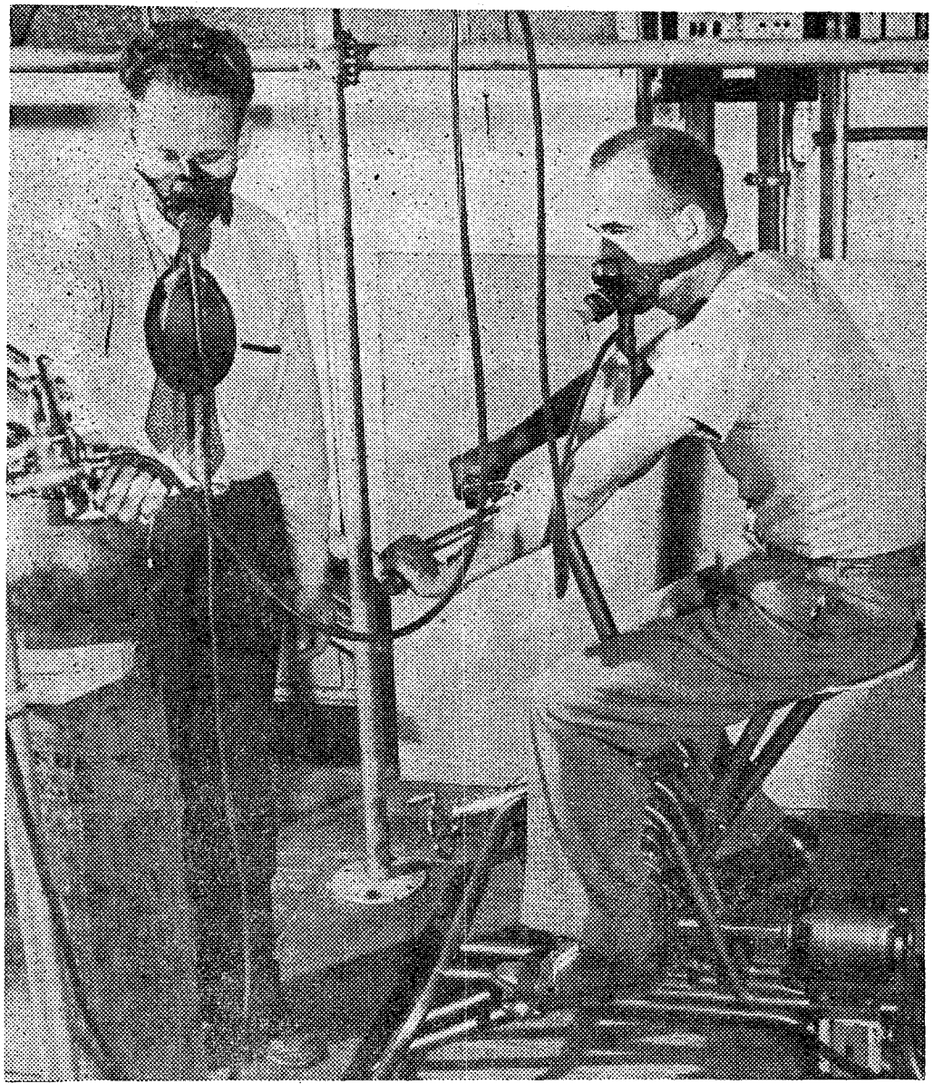
As the pilot in the cockpit can move his body only slightly, a wide range vision cannot be obtained except by moving the head and the eyes. It is therefore important that his eye muscles function and coordinate very well when the eyeballs are turned at any angle. This power is measured by an involved set of prisms and glass rods called the phorometer trial frame, and by several other less complicated instruments. If there is any deviation from the normal, its type and extent can be exactly determined. The pilot may also see an enemy plane coming at him out of "the corner of his eye" so to speak—in these instances a normally wide visual field is important. The doctor accurately measures the extent of the visual field while the candidate holds his eye and head stationary.

The major, while conducting a visiting congressman on a flight, is demonstrating to him some aspects of a pilot's tasks: "What color are the fields on either side of those woods, would you say? Both brown? Excuse me, sir, but a pilot must have such good color vision that in spite of the haze he sees that the field on this side is the brownish green of short grass while that on the further side has the brown color of plowed land. I don't need to tell you what would happen if he made an emergency landing in the wrong field. Do you see those colored squares lying in the field to our right? The color of each must be sharply differentiated, as the pattern which they form is a signal from ground troops. Now please observe the airport. Can you make out the color of that



These cadets at Santa Ana wear oxygen masks in the decompression chamber.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Before making a high altitude test, an experimental pilot mounts an exercycle. He breathes pure oxygen, even while walking to the plane.

series of flags at the other end? Orange? Wrong again, sir. They are red and mark a rough area which must be avoided. The brilliant red light which the man in the control tower is flashing at us signifies of course that we can't land and we must circle until he flashes green. I think it is clear to you why the doctors are so particular in eliminating any candidate who does not have almost perfect color vision."

For testing color vision the examining physician usually asks the candidate to match colored yarns. The eye's external surface is inspected and the interior is examined with an opthalmoscope for any pathologic changes or abnormalities which may interfere with good ocular function.

The heart and blood vessels are carefully examined, principally because an unstable cardiovascular system may lead to fainting under stress and may deteriorate from the strain to which the pilot is subjected. Not all the abnormalities serve to eliminate candidates, only some of the more serious.

The almost universal employment of aircraft radio renders it essential that the pilot have a normal hearing and this is carefully ascertained in each candidate. Within the ear there is also the apparatus for detecting changes in equilibrium and this should neither be oversensitive or undersensitive. The equilibrium is tested by use of a rotating chair.

A psychic examination is conducted to determine any psychological weaknesses present or which might be brought out by the nervous strain to which the flier is often subjected. Finally there is a general physical examination of the remaining parts of the body for other abnormal conditions which disqualify.

There has been extensive research on the question of how flying affects the ears. Some work tended to show that the constant vibration to which the pilot is subjected eventually causes some deafness but more recent investigation has disproved this. Prolonged exposure to the noise of aircraft eventually causes loss of hearing, according to some research workers, and considerable intensities of noise cause irritability, fatigue, and gastro-intestinal disturbances. The problem is solved by the soundproofing of cabins or by the wearing of individual ear defenders.

An important effect of flight is the increase of relative air pressure within the middle ear cavity during ascent and its decrease at the time of descent. When the aircraft rises the atmospheric pressure decreases and the relatively higher pressure in the middle ear bulges the eardrum outward. The opposite occurs on descent. At intervals during ascent the difference is equalized by the automatic opening of the Eustachian tube which connects the middle ear with the throat, but during descent the equalization must be accomplished voluntarily by swallowing or yawning. Some individuals, however, have local conditions in the throat which prevent them from opening their Eustachian tubes and these people are liable to suffer from inflammation of the middle ears or rupture of the eardrum as a result of flying. In such cases the abnormal condition in the throat mu be treated.

Much importance is attached to studies of the pilot's ability to correctly gauge banking and turning. Upon standing still after whirling, everyone has experienced the sensation that he is turning in the opposite direction. A pilot also senses this phenomenon when he comes out of a turn while flying blind. Aviation medicine has aided in evolving instruments and techniques which aid blind flying. Part of the pilot's training today includes teaching him to disregard his own sensations while flying blind and to believe only the instruments which show the true position of the plane.

Although pilot candidates are eliminated if they have a tendency to air sickness, other crew members of a large plane may be susceptible and the study of this condition is therefore necessary.

Among the more recent reports of experimental work is the announcement by a group of physicians at the Naval Air Station, San Diego, that 1.2 percent of men exposed to simulated altitude-runs in the low pressure chamber experienced toothache. This was found to be caused by the reaction of diseased teeth to the lowered atmospheric pressure.

Several years ago it was found that animals exposed to rarefied atmosphere developed an enlargement of the adrenal glands. This was confirmed in reports a few months ago from the University of California and Harvard University. It points to the probability that aviators need large quantities of adrenal hormone while flying at high altitudes.

Aviation medicine is a vital adjunct to our rapidly expanding, mighty air power and as higher speeds develop, greater altitudes are regularly flown, and new techniques in flying are evolved, this science is bound to increase in military importance.

Ralph Bailey.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE "INTELLECTUAL" FASCIST

A story with a moral, about one Seward Collins who eschewed "the rabble" but was appreciated by the Nazi Bund. High-falutin' language in the service of fascism.

It is a pleasure to note that the campaign to suppress John Roy Carlson's *Under Cover* has boomeranged in favor of the book. Carlson's sensational expose of native fascists quickly jumped to the top of the non-fiction best-seller lists in New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, and San Francisco. The Council on Books in Wartime officially endorsed the book. The publishers, E. P. Dutton and Co., have taken the offensive against Frank Gannett, reactionary newspaper owner who threatened to sue for libel unless the book was withdrawn.

The Gannett technique of intimidation was notoriously slimy. He wrote to jobbers and booksellers all over the country ordering them not to distribute the book on penalty of legal action; and he made sure to *copyright* his threatening letters so that they could not be reproduced in the press! Gannett blusters; but the book sells so fast that the publishers cannot keep up with the demand.

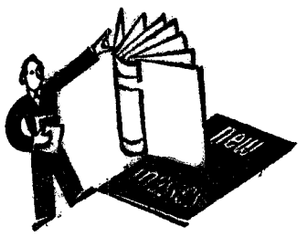
It's a good book for Americans to look into these days, as Joseph North has already pointed out in a column on the subject. One reason why I should like to see it read in literary and academic circles is that it points a solidly accusing finger at Seward Collins in the chapter on "Park Avenue 'Patriots.'" As editor of *The Bookman* and later of *The American Review*, Collins was for a number of years the center of a facist-minded literary movement in this country. When I called Seward Collins a fascist back in 1933, the year Hitler came in and Collins began to edit *The American Review*, I was virtually booted out of a graduate seminar presided over by a "non-political" scholar; he accused me of indiscriminately abusing a publication for which in time he was to become the star-reviewer. I recall the episode not to say "I told you so" (an easy and profitless pastime nowadays) but to explore a dark corner of literary activity in this country.

The author of *Under Cover*, posing as George Pagnanelli, won the confidence of intellectual fascists like Seward Collins and Lawrence Dennis, no less than that of frankly gutter fascists like Joe McWilliams. Collins liked Pagnanelli's scurrilous anti-Semitic sheet, *The Christian Defender:* "You've got a bright little sheet there. I enjoy reading it." Collins said this at his American Review Bookshop, an establishment whose function was plainly defined in an advertising leaflet: "New York's only 'right wing' bookshop, specializing in nationalist books, pamphlets and periodicals, published in this country and abroad. Anti-Communist material, sympathetic presentation of anti-Communist countries—Italy, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Japan, and nationalist elements in other countries. Rental library. Books rented by mail." Among the publications that Pagnanelli bought at Seward Collins' bookshop were: Sir Oswald Mosley's pro-Nazi sheet *Action* (Mosley was later imprisoned for his treasonable activities); Ralph Townsend's *Seeking Foreign Trouble* (Townsend became an editor of the pro-Axis *Scribner's Commentator;* this former American consular agent was later convicted as a Japanese agent); *Spain*, by Franco's Library of Information; *Fair Play*, an Italian propaganda organ carrying articles by George Deatherage, Dr. Friedrich E. Auhagen, and one by Cong. George A. Dondero entitled *US Never Was a Democracy*.

Collins knew McWilliams as well as Stanley Smith, chairman of the American Nationalist Party, an organization which held its first meetings in the American Review Bookshop building. But Collins told Pagnanelli that "I am not mixed in with the crackpots and the bums. I want to be interpreted honestly and not washed in the same water with the rabble. I have a definite political-social-economic program to further and I intend to spend my lifetime and resources toward that end." Collins, in short, was to be a refined fascist. His refinement was well appreciated by the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, the Bund organ, in the summer of 1938. At that time the FBI belatedly cracked down on a Nazi spy ring, and Dr. Ignatz T. Griebl was able to beat it out of the country, gallantly leaving Mrs. Griebl behind. "What followed," said the *Deutscher Weckruf*, "is proof that traditional American chivalry and fair play have not become obsolete in the United States. Mr. Seward Collins put up the $5000.00 bail in five $1000.00 bills and Mrs. Griebl was released." Some time after this chivalrous act, Collins moved out to Lake Geneva, Wis., where he worked with *Scribner's Commentator*, mouthpiece of the America First Committee. A Washington grand jury summoned him to verify reports that his garage at Lake Geneva housed a large quantity of short-wave equipment and large crates ready for shipment. The American Review Bookshop has since been closed, but Seward Collins is still around. He has for the moment "retired" to his country home at New Canaan, Conn., and is apparently less frequently seen at his clubs, the Lotos, the Princeton, the Players, the Quadrangle, etc.

The material on Seward Collins in *Under Cover* does not include *The American Review* itself. I have just refreshed my memory of that high-falutin' intellectual organ. The experience is illuminating. The issues from 1933-37 of this extravagantly snooty quarterly constitute a classic lesson in the devious mechanisms of intellectual fascism. Collins' editorial in the first issue announced that this was to be the organ of the "Radicals of the Right," "the Revolutionary Conservatives." It was to give currency to the ideas of those who launch their criticism of contemporary life from a "traditionalist" basis. Four groups were to be the leading spirits of this attack on modernism: Belloc, Chesterton, and the "Distributists"; Paul Elmer More,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



one year of

NEW MASSES

(Reduction made from subscription rate (Regularly $5 a year), not book list price.)

plus

UNDER COVER
BY ROY CARLSON
List Price $3.50
Combination Offer $7.00

or	Our Gift Combination Price	You Save
THE CENTURY OF THE COMMON MAN by HENRY WALLACE	$5.00	.75
THE FALL OF PARIS by ILYA EHRENBOURG	$7.00	$1.00
ONE WORLD by WENDELL WILLKIE	$5.00	$1.00
LAST DAYS OF SEVASTOPOL by BORIS VOYETEKHOV	$6.50	$1.00
HISTORY OF BIGOTRY by GUSTAVUS MEYERS	$7.00	$1.50
BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN by CAREY McWILLIAMS	$7.00	$1.00
ATTACK CAN WIN IN '43 by MAX WERNER	6.00	.75
U. S. FOREIGN POLICY by WALTER LIPPMANN	$6.00	$1.00
NEW WORLD A-COMING by ROI OTTLEY	$7.00	$1.00
SOCIALISM AND ETHICS by HOWARD SELSAM	$6.00	$1.00
DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT by BERNARD SMITH	$7.00	$3.00
JAKE HOME by RUTH McKENNEY	$7.00	$1.00
12 MONTHS THAT CHANGED THE WORLD by LARRY LESEUR	$7.00	$1.00
CITIZEN TOM PAINE by HOWARD FAST	$6.75	$1.00
INFANT AND CHILD CARE IN THE CULTURE OF TODAY by DRS. ARNOLD GESEL and FRANCES L. ILG	$8.00	$1.00
THE RUSSIANS by by ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS	$6.00	$1.00
VICTORY—AND AFTER by EARL BROWDER	$5.00	.50
BRITAIN IN THE WORLD FRONT by R. PALME DUTT	$6.00	$1.00

NEW MASSES, 104 East 9th St., New York 3, N.Y.
Gentlemen:
I wish to take advantage of your combination offer.

Enclosed find $.....

The book I desire is.....
Please send it to.
Name .....

Address .....

City .....

State .....

The one-year subscription (or renewal) to NEW MASSES you may send to:

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

State .....

Add $1 for Canadian Postage

9-7-43

Norman Foerster, and the "Neo-Humanists"; Donald Davidson, Allen Tate and the "Southern Agrarians"; and the Neo-Scholastics who carry on the "Aristotelico-Thomistic" tradition in philosophy. As the avenue of these groups, *The American Review* was to bring "order and sanity" into American life.

What the general character of this order and this sanity were to be did not long remain in doubt. Collins wrote in his first editorial: "The fascist economics, in particular, which have received scant treatment by our universally liberal and radical press, are badly in need of sympathetic exposition." Harold Goad, writing on "The Principles of the Corporate State," said that "From Italy today we have far more to learn than from Russia. . . ." For fascism is superior to democracy: "Now the Corporate State is unquestionably a new form of democracy—not the old democracy . . . but a true unitary form of democracy in which the interests of the people, and especially of the people as producers, are duly represented in a single patriotic corporate body which is the expression of their will." Under fascism there is no conflict between capital and labor, and this "disciplined" and "harmonized" democracy "is the only form of democracy that is really 'safe for the world.'" In a later issue, Seward Collins editorially observed that "Mussolini is the most constructive statesman of our age."

But Mussolini moves into the background as *The American Review* notes who the real champion of the higher democracy is. Collins begins to defend Hitler against those who "misrepresent him." Hitler, says Collins, echoing Hitler, is the world's bulwark against Communism: "One would gather from the fantastic lack of proportion of our press—not to say its gullibility and sensationalism—that the most important aspect of the German Revolution was the hardships suffered by Jews under the new regime. Even if the absurd atrocity stories were all true, the fact would be almost negligible beside an event that shouts aloud in spite of the journalistic silence: the victory of Hitler signifies the end of the Communist threat, *forever*." Read this sentence again, and you will understand the attitude toward Jews that virtually every issue of *The American Review* expressed. Casually and quite irrelevantly, Collins can observe: "One is reminded of the Jewish aptitude for spotting areas likely to prove good real-estate investments." Of the Negroes, and other colored peoples, Allen Tate has this to say in a laudatory review of Spengler's fascist treatise, *The Hour of Decision*: "The integrity of Western culture, under the catchwords of Justice and Equality, is betrayed by an alliance with the Colored Races." (Is it any wonder that Allen Tate could say last year that the best "anti-fascist" poem might be "pro-Nazi"?)

The American Review, following Hilaire Belloc, claimed to be against both capitalism and Communism. Like Hitler, it claimed to be against the "Servile State." It is disturbing to find Herbert Agar writing that plutocracy and democracy are the same thing, and that if we want to get rid of plutocracy, we must get rid of the system that bred it, i.e., democracy. (Agar has since repudiated this view and adopted a vigorous liberal position.) Ralph Adams Cram wrote that "When universal suffrage came in, democracy went out as a practicable proposition." He would have agreed with Seward Collins that "The only way to conquer a plutocracy is by means of a monarch. There is no other way possible." Christopher Dawson opined that Bolshevism was a menace to Western society because it was "the *reductio ad absurdum* of principles implicit in bourgeois culture" and the Jews are a similar menace because they are the "bourgeois par excellence."

To ANYONE even faintly familiar with the demagogy of Nazism, it is clear that by and large *The American Review* was merely an echo of the Rosenbergs and Werner Sombarts of Germany's new intellectual order. It was anti-Semitic. It exalted the virtues of the corporate state against "plutocratic-democracy." It hailed Hitler as the bulwark against Russian Communism. It urged a reversion to the more "disciplined" society of the Middle Ages. It attacked "industrialism" in the name of a "higher morality." In its last year of publication it was dedicated to the defense of Franco against the "raping Reds" of Madrid. The "Radicals of the Right" preached clerical-fascism, racism, and other rubbish.

But the interesting fact is that in its pages, in a few cases quite innocently, appeared men (the only woman was Dorothea Brande, wife of Seward Collins and author of the best seller *Wake Up and Live*) who occupy prominent places in the academic and literary life of America, including the professor who thought my language intemperate in the graduate seminar. In its pages you will find Norman Foerster, head of the Humanities School at Iowa University; Tremaine McDowell, Professor at Minnesota and outstanding Bryant scholar; Harry Hayden Clark of Wisconsin, editor of a long series of volumes on American literature; G. R. Elliott of Amherst; Paul Elmer More; Richmond C. Beatty, author of a recent Confederate volume on Lowell. In it you will find Allen Tate, Donald Davidson, Robert Penn Warren, John Crowe Ransom, John Gould Fletcher, Mark Van Doren, Herbert Agar. In short, in it you will find eminent respectability. The professors themselves constitute a fair-sized monopoly of the teaching of American literature in our universities.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAMP UNITY

ON LAKE ELLIS
Wingdale, N.Y.
Phone: **Wingdale 2461**

Victory Varieties

- ★ *Featuring* **CASS CARR** *and His Band*
- *Sparkling Entertainment*
- *Delicious Food*
- Low Rates: $5.50 per day, $30 per week
- Only 70 miles from N.Y.C. via NYCRR.
- Discount to men in Armed Service

ALL SPORTS

Swimming	*Socials*
Boating	*Hand Ball*
Fishing	*Horseshoes*
Baseball	*Ping-Pong*
Tennis	*Hikes*

CAMP OPEN TO SEPT. 19TH

Make Reservations Now

For Illustrated Booklet, Write or Phone:

NEW YORK OFFICE, 1 Union Square West
ALgonquin 4-8024

FOR VACATION FUN AND REST

55 Miles from New York a vacation "heaven," breath-takingly beautiful countryside—delicious food—restful indoor activities—invigorating enjoyable outdoor sports: Tennis—swimming—ping pong—volley ball—bowling—outdoor dancing—bicycling—(horseback riding and golf nearby). You're welcome at any time and for any time. Write for booklet.

PLUM POINT
"YEAR-ROUND VACATION RESORT"
New Windsor, N.Y. Newburgh 4270

LAKELAND

Camp Lakeland
on Sylvan Lake

- **HOPEWELL JUNCTION, N. Y.**

With All Facilities for a Complete Vacation
Delicious Food • All Sports • Social Staff
Easy to reach • 70 miles via N.Y.C.R.R. to Pawling • Taxi to Camp • Rates from $27.50
Discount to Men in Uniform • Telephone GR. 7-8659 • New York Office: 1 Union Square

BACK THE ATTACK
★ **WITH** ★
WAR BONDS

The truth is that, while it would be quite inaccurate to call most of these people fascists, it is inescapably true that trends in their thinking brought many of them close to Seward Collins, who correctly calls himself a fascist. That is what sticks in my craw. For I do not have the slightest assurance that this assemblage of Southern Agrarians, neo-Humanists, neo-Thomists, traditionalists, and whatnot have as a group phenomenon substantially changed. Some of them appeared in *The American Review* inadvertently. Some of them have changed. But has each one seen clearly the lesson of a Seward Collins, and has each one emphatically turned his back on Seward Collins? Has each one ripped anti-Semitism out of his heart, and anti-Negroism, and Red-baiting—the sure paths to fascism? I don't think so. It is still necessary to fight the Allen Tates, Norman Foersters, and Seward Collins'. Their "traditionalist" ideas are leaden weights on a democracy trying to stamp out its mortal enemies abroad and at home.

Books in Review

The Living Dead

WE WERE FREE, *by Constantin Joffe. Smith & Durrell. $2.75.*

THOSE who have fled Nazism down the roads of Europe from city to city and country to country have come to many ends. But surely the most intolerable must be the situation of the "living dead" whom Constantin Joffe has resurrected in his account of his twenty-one-month imprisonment in Germany. Joffe was a member of the French Legion of Refugees, men of many nationalities, escaped from Nazi persecution in their own countries only to find its long arm about them once again in the France of 1940. These men fought as the rest of France fought—without equipment, without organization, without anything except their personal zeal and hatred of the enemy. The fall of France left them in the same state of shock, disbelief, and disillusionment that gripped every true French citizen. It was Joffe's fate to be captured and interned in Germany.

In a prison city of 90,000 men he kept alive for nearly two years; released when he was judged—by Nazi standards—unfit to work. But most of these 90,000 were not released. One and a half million French prisoners alone remain in German prisons. And these, according to the author, are "at bottom . . . forgotten men; they are the living dead." Joffe's is not the first word we have had of the fascist treatment of human beings; nor will it be the last. But if anyone tends at this moment to think mainly in statistical terms of these "forgotten men," let him read *We Were*

CHI-WAN-DA
ON THE HUDSON

ULSTER PARK, N. Y. Phone Kingston 1329
On the Mountain Lake Esopus, overlooking the beautiful Hudson River. Social staff, dancing, all water and land sports. Fine cuisine, most modern improvements.
Directions—Train-Bus-Boat to Kingston
LABOR DAY WEEK-END
3 Days $17 up—2 Days $13 up
Attractive Low Rates for Month of September
J. I. DOROSHKIN, Director MUrray Hill 2-4217
Send Your Reservations Directly to Camp

Vacation—*PLUS*
Ideal spot in the Berkshire Hills at Fishkill, N. Y.
ALL SPORTS
TENNIS, SWIMMING, HANDBALL, *plus*
Distinguished Lecturers
$35 *per week*
$24 *Labor Day weekend, Friday to Monday*
School for Democracy
13 Astor Place, New York GRamercy 7-4086
Out of town: Beacon 727

SUBSCRIBE TO

NEW MASSES

TODAY

NEW MASSES,
104 East 9th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

Enclosed find $..... for which please send NM for one full year, 52 weeks. (There are 2 methods of payments; we perfer the first; you may prefer the second.)

☐ One Year, $5.00.

☐ One Year $1.00 down payment. Bill $1 monthly for 4 months.

NAME .....

STREET & NUMBER .....

CITY .....

STATE .....

SUB SENT IN BY

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... STATE .....

"THE WEEK"

Claude Cockburn's Famous London Newsletter is again available to American subscribers, as the export ban has been lifted. Rates: $12 a year, $7 for six months. By Airmail: $25 yearly, $15 for six months. Address:

Claude Cockburn, *The Week*
21 Bloomsbury Way London W.C.L., England

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HILLTOP Lodge
ON BEAUTIFUL SYLVAN LAKE
Tel.: Hopewell Junction 2761
R.R. Station: Pawling, N. Y.
Only 65 Miles from N.Y.C.
EVERY CONCEIVABLE SPORT & RECREATION
Golf FREE on Premises
Tennis ● Night Tennis ● Handball
Swimming ● Boating ● Horseback
Baseball ● Cycling, etc.
OUR FOOD IS TOPS!
FOR THE UTMOST IN VACATION VALUE CHOOSE HILLTOP
Under direction of
Paul Wolfson & Sol Rothauser
N.Y. Office: 277 Broadway
Tel.: COrtland 7-3958
HOPEWELL JUNCTION, N.Y.

SOCIAL STAFF · HORSEBACK · BICYCLING · SWIMMING · TENNIS
You can have everything here at CHESTERS'
25 exhilarating sports, including tennis and swimming at their best; delightful accommodations; zestful dining ;entertainment by our Talest squad grand company! No car needed—what with the regular N.Y., Ontario & Western R.R., Short Line & Mountain Transit buses & now—just added—the 3 trains on the Erie, station to door taxi service arranged. Attractive rates throughout the summer. Special discount to men and women in uniform.
WOODBOURNE, N.Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150
CHESTERS
A DELIGHTFUL HIDEAWAY IN THE MOUNTAINS

For complete enjoyment and relaxation, come .
CAMP COLEBROOK
Colebrook River, Conn.
(formerly an exclusive Country Club)
● Private lake surrounded by 300 acres of pines and hemlocks
● Cozy bungalows, woodburning fireplaces
● Tennis, Handball, Water Sports, Ping Pong
● Dancing, Recordings
Rates: $35.00 - $37.50
Phone AL 4-0063
Greyhound Bus stops at Colebrook River
New Haven Train stops at Winstead, Conn.

A VACATION HAVEN 40 MILES FROM NEW YORK CENTRAL
VALLEY
N. Y.
Birdland
Formerly LEWISOHN'S ESTATE ● OPEN ALL YEAR
225-acre estate of fascinating hiking country. Tennis, Swimming, Golf, Handball, Bicycligng, Ping-pong, Games, Recordings, Library, Dancing. Excellent cuisine. Every comfort. Incomparable surroundings.
Tel.: Highland Mills 7895. FOR ADULTS
Your Hostess: FANNIE GOLDBERG

MAMANASCO LAKE LODGE
RIDGEFIELD, CONN. Phone 820
Summer beckons again to the most wonderful little resort for your vacation or for a weekend. Modern accommodations. All outdoor activities; ur own 1½ mile long dations. All outdoor activities; our own 1½ mile long roundings. Famous cuisine. Only 50 miles from city via excellent transportation facilities. Moderate rates.

Free (originally published in French under the title *Les Enterres Vivants.*)

The author says in a preface, "This is not properly speaking a book, for I am not a writer. I have simply attempted to set down certain memories which are branded forever upon my mind." They will be branded on any reader's mind, too; and that, whatever the author claims in modesty, is writing.

Mr. Joffe says that the prisoner of war in Germany goes through three stages—if he keeps alive. First, reduced to the condition of a starving animal, he despairs utterly, hopes for nothing, struggle in isolation, if at all. The second stage, the stage of "adaptation," seems in many ways infinitely worse. For *what* he adapts to—the endlessly intricate forms of Nazi brutality —is so horrifying that the very fact of adaptation seems the most bitter obligation of all. But it is not; for once this adaptation has commenced, the prisoner begins to make contact with those around him. In heartbreakingly limited ways he helps and is helped to make a new kind of "personal life" together with a group of men who become his comrades. He shares his thoughts, his past, his present. He dares at least to dream of the future. At long, very long intervals, help comes even from among the enemy. An anti-fascist Austrian guard expresses himself softly in one sentence—once only. Or at night a guard whistles a bar from the *Internationale* in the darkness; another picks up the melody; then another.

Mr. Joffe has described these first two stages, for they were what he himself witnessed and experienced. The third stage, in which purpose and the will to fight are activized and restored, was reported to him by prisoners released after him. This stage, let it be noted, was born when the democracies really united to fight fascism in earnest. With the British attack on Cyrenea in North Africa, with the entry of the Soviet Union and the United States into the war, the prisoners as a body came into a new life, in which hope was no longer a dream occupation, in which resistance was no longer a mere hope.

There are weaknesses in this book, chiefly in political understanding. In discussing the holocaust in France, for example, the author is distinctly naive—or for some reason doesn't want to estimate the case. He says that he has no means of knowing whether the disorganization was intentional or not; he just "knows that it existed." Again, he incorrectly inclines to lump all people of German blood as "natural" Nazis, whereas he readily distinguishes anti-fascists among the Austrians. But in his record of life-in-death in a German prison city, Mr. Joffe has done an unforgettable service both to us and to those living dead who were his comrades.

HELEN CLARE NELSON.

TENNIS SWIMMING DANCING
For HAPPY HOLIDAYS
COME TO BEACON FOR
LABOR DAY WEEKEND
3 FULL DAYS—$15
GAY ENTERTAINMENT
ALL SPORTS—DANCING
Camp Beacon
BEACON, N.Y. Phone: BEACON 737
HIKING HANDBALL BOATING

Enjoy your vacation at
EAGER ROSE GARDEN
BUSHVILLE, N. Y., Bet. Monticello & Ferndale
● All sports. Social activities.
● Music and entertainment
● Make reservations early
Any Bus Line to Bushville
PHONE JErome 8-0160
OR MONTICELLO 571

The Woodlands
For the Lazybones: Well-stocked library — Art classes held by Frank Kleinholz — musical recordings—open fireplaces spectacular country.
For the Spirited: Tennis—handball—swimming — ping-pong — badminton — archery — mountain trails—croquet —culinary masterpieces—fishing.
SIFGIF GOLDNER
PHOENICIA, NEW YORK

Russian Skazka
● Superlative Russian and American Cuisine
● Soviet-American Recordings
DINNER, 75c
Late Snaks 35c Beer & Wine
17 Barrow Street
IRT to Christopher Street
Ind. Subway to W. 4th Street

Camp Followers of the Trail
ALL SPORTS ACTIVITIES
$4.50 per day; $23.00 per week
N. Y. Central to Peekskill, By Boat to Indian Point
EXCELLENT MEALS
Buchanan, N. Y. Phone Peekskill 2879

SUMMER
VACATION
All indoor and outdoor activities—Golf course.
Modern library.
Musical Recordings.
Bicycling. Archery.
Lecturers: Dr. Ph. Foner, and Dr. Fred Ewen
Henry Joseph, Square dance leader.
Reasonable Rates.
Ellenville, N.Y.
Tel. 502
Arrowhead

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Romanticized Revolution

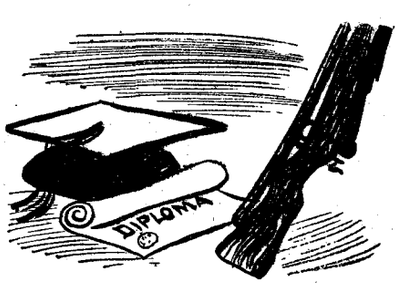
DAWN'S EARLY LIGHT, *by Elswyth Thane. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $2.50.*

ONE should, I suppose, try to forget the six-entry love tournament of sighs and kisses in *Dawn's Early Light,* because Miss Thane has also managed to give a rather clear picture of the progress of the American military campaign in the South during the Revolution. This was that amazing series of maneuvers of which (to the tune of "Pop! Goes the Weasel") the old song tells:

Cornwallis led a country dance,
The like was never seen, Sir—
Much retrograde and much advance,
And all with General Greene, Sir!

But Mr. Howard Fast, I am afraid, has spoiled us all. We have become accustomed to viewing the Revolution in our novels through the eyes of men like Paine and Washington, attempting to reconstruct the problems of military and political strategy, the interplay of personality and "objective" factors, the nature of a people's war for independence that is at the same time a kind of civil war. Miss Thane is remote from this kind of historical novel writing. Primarily, she has wished to produce a period piece, combining a sentimental love tale with the nostalgic atmosphere of carefully reconstructed places and types from the past. But also she wished to make use of material of the Revolution, because of its richness and inherent meaningfulness. There is a delicate problem of photomontage here, which is not at all lessened by the special duties of character-evaluation and event-weighing imposed by the material.

Miss Thane has chosen to treat the war as the background of the love tale. Young Julian Day comes to Williamsburg, Va., as a staunch Loyalist. The war puts him to the test, and he finally comes out right side up and engaged to boot. He is motivated by a simple, new-found nationalism and by *l'amour,* and these are more or less the motivations of the entire cast of Williamsburgers, with the exception of a few like Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry whom we meet far too casually. The point of view of this little group of aristocrats is quite clear: we live here, this is our



NEW MASSES

ANNOUNCES ITS

Post Labor Day Weekend

NEW MASSES weekends have become synonymous with good entertainment, good fellowship, and as a delightful climax of the season, NEW MASSES offers you one more go of fun and sport before the autumn puts in its claim for the serious work ahead.

- A TYPICAL SATURDAY NIGHT—NM-CHESTER REVUE—SNAPPY, SPARKLING, ORIGINAL
- LECTURES, DISCUSSIONS ON THE MOST IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY BY WELL-KNOWN AUTHORITIES
- A SUNDAY AFTERNOON CONCERT
- A SPORTS PROGRAM FROM A TO T

(Archery, Badminton, Swimming, Pingpong, Cycling, Tennis, Etc.)

COST FOR WEEKEND

$15.50 *(corrected rate)*

CHESTERS' ZUNBARG

WOODBOURNE, N. Y.

TWO FULL DAYS

FRIDAY, SEPT. 10 to SUNDAY, SEPT. 12

(Evening to Evening, Incl.)

Fill in coupon below and mail to NEW MASSES, 104 East 9th St., New York 3, N. Y., or call GRamercy 3-5146

- -

☐ I wish to make reservations for .....people at $15.50 per person for the two-day week-end of Sept. 10-12 (incl.)

Remittance enclosed..... Deposit enclosed.....

I will want transportation..... ☐ Male ☐ Female ☐ Couple

Name .....

Address .....

Telephone .....

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"A Triumph" —BARNES Herald Trib.
Jan KIEPURA—Marta EGGERTH
in the NEW OPERA COMPANY'S Production of
THE Merry Widow
with MELVILLE COOPER
Felix Brentano, Director Robert Stolz, Conductor
George Balanchine, Choreography
MAJESTIC, W. 44. Evs. 8:30. Mats. Thur. & Sat.

OPENING THURSDAY, SEPT. 2nd
Modern Play Productions, Inc., presents
FAMILIAR PATTERN New Comedy Drama
By DAVID S. LIFSON
Seats $2.20—Thereafter .85, $1.10, $1.65
Curtain at 8:30
PROVINCETOWN PLAYHOUSE
133 MacDougal St., N. Y. GRamercy 7-9894

2nd BIG WEEK
POTEMKIN PRODUCTIONS PRESENT
'Seeds of Freedom'
WITH HENRY HULL AND ALINE MACMAHON
A powerful modernization of
Sergei Eisenstein's 'Potemkin'
The REAL STORY of why Russia fights.
Cont. from 9 A. M.—Late Show Every Saturday!
Stanley Thea. 7th Ave., bet. 41-42 Sts. Tel WIsconsin 7-9686
Air-conditioned

A film cavalcade of a thousand years of Russian heroism
"The Russian Story"
Also: "69TH PARALLEL"
Plus: M.G.M.—"People of Russia"
IRVING PLACE IRVING PLACE at 14th St.
Benefit Block Tickets at Reduced Price. GR. 5-9679

WORKERS BOOK SHOP
50 EAST 13 TH ST. N.Y.
"SABOTAGE"
The secret war against America
By Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn
Regular price $2.50
Our special price .49c

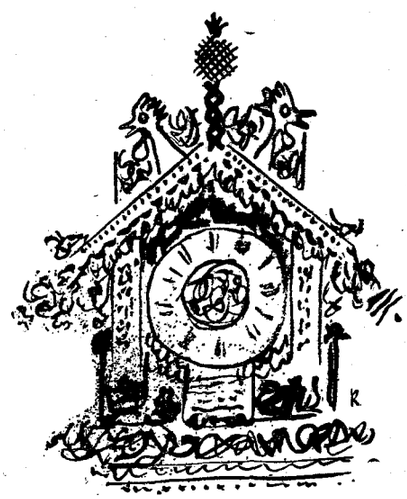
A.C.A. GALLERY
(American Contemporary Artists)
wishes to inform its friends of its new address at
63 East 57th St.
FORMAL OPENING EXHIBITION
SEPTEMBER 8th to SEPTEMBER 25th
Exhibiting artists include:
Burliuk, Evergood, Gropper, Kopman, Refregeir, Jules, Harriton, Gwathmey, Reisman, Turnbull, Tschacbasov, Tromka, Prestopino, Martyl, Gottlieb, and the Sculptors Werner, Goodleman, Hebald and Cronbach.
New artists to exhibit with A.C.A.
Moses Soyer, Raphael Soyer, Joseph Stella
You are cordially invited to visit our new home

country, and we fight for our native soil. By identifying herself with this view of the Revolution, Miss Thane reduces her problem to the lowest common denominator. But it is just here, I feel, that she makes her chief mistake. By committing herself to the outlook of this class in this place, she dooms her book to a mediocrity of conception, and is forced to rely too much on romantic intrigue and sentimentality.

Another distressing result is the uncritical picture which we get of the old South. It is the *fine old South*, of course, where the Negro slaves grin ecstatically under the yoke, where the young men are all seven-footers and gallant as rapiers, and where the girls are all cream and velvet. Patrick Henry, who might have been used to indicate the element of popular revolutionary sentiment in Virginia, is looked upon by the hero as a rabble-rouser. The pale figures of the great political leaders are barely perceptible against the mauve background of bathos and boudoir. The military leaders naturally do what history says they did; but as *characters*, they are all just *darlings*, if I read Miss Thane's mind aright: honest, cursing, laughing Greene; and Lafayette, so French, so understanding of a woman's heart; and Marion, so wistful in his admiration of the hero's manly beauty . . . dear lads all!

It would have been better had Miss Thane subordinated the local color and the picture of the typical aristocratic rebl's frame of mind, and placed a great deal more emphasis on an effective intelligence like that of Jefferson or Henry or perhaps Greene, whom she might easily have made the hero instead of the piece of mutton who *is* the hero. The author would then be at a point of special vantage, above the highest level of the book, so to speak. Instead, she has identified herself with a kind of intelligence which hardly understood what was going on, and must compensate by detailed accuracy of setting and by imaginary reconstructions of battle-scenes, as well as by the over-stressed, endlessly hackneyed love affair.

MICHAEL ROBERTS.



NEW MASSES

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

50c a line. Payable in advance. Min. charge $1.50
Approx. 7 words to a line. Deadline Fri., 4 p.m.

WOMEN'S OPPORTUNITY

17 OPENINGS WAITING TO BE FILLED FROM COAST TO COAST

NEW MASSES needs energetic, alert women in its circulation department. The jobs are vital to NEW MASSES, really interesting, pay a salary plus expenses, and are steady.

It entails securing NEW MASSES subscriptions, but NOT on a canvassing basis.

The importance of this work cannot be overemphasized—NEW MASSES is a necessary part of America's "win-the-war" press.

To extend the magazine's audience of regular subscribers is one way of heightening NM's effectiveness as a fighting periodical.

Apply in writing to **Herbert Goldfrank**

NEW MASSES
104 East 9th Street New York 3, N. Y.

APARTMENT TO SHARE

Girl to share beautifully furnished floor through. Private entrance, ample closets, music room, convenient transportation. Budget approx. $40. GRamercy 5-4796. 7 to 10 evenings.

SACKS FARM

Unusually beautiful countryside; pine woods, restful; all conveniences; finest A-Jewish cooking. Sports, horseback riding, low rates. Booklet. Saugerties, N. Y. Tel. 590-J.

BARLOW FARM

BARLOW FARM—Sherman, Conn. Delightful vacation. Swimming, tennis, etc. Fine Russian-American cooking. Children accepted. Free booklet.

PIANO TUNING

PIANO TUNING, Repairing, Reconditioning. Reliable advice on purchases and sales. Member Nat'l Ass'n Piano Tuners, Inc. Ralph J. Appleton, 505 5th Ave., N. Y. City. MU-2-3757.

GYMNASIUM

Get in shape. Reduce—build up—relax. Trial visit $2.00 includes Swedish massage, handball, vapor baths, individual exercises, posture correction, etc. Men, women, separate days. Open roof gym. GOODWIN'S GYM, 1457 Broadway at 42 St. WIsconsin 7-8250.

INSURANCE

PAUL CROSBIE—Insurance of every kind—whatever your needs—FREQUENT SAVINGS. 80 West 40th St., New York City. Tel. PEnnsylvania 6-6766.

MANUSCRIPT TYPING

Manuscripts neatly and efficiently typed. Union rates. Apply Box 1809, New Masses, 104 E. 9th St., N.Y. 3.

BOOKS WANTED

Books of all sorts are needed for the communities of Fairfield and Smithfield, Alabama.

The Southern Negro Youth Congress is planning to open libraries in these communities and is requesting books of all sorts. They are especially interested in literature on the Negro, Labor, Art, Drama and Poetry.

Send all your packages to:

SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS
526-28 Masonic Temple Building
Birmingham, Alabama

IN MEMORIAM
B. KAPLAN
812 NORTH STANLEY DRIVE
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Anna Seghers "The Seventh Cross"

Starts in serial form Sun. Sept. 12th. in "The Worker" and "Daily Worker"

REVIEWERS SAY:

". . . By any critical yardstick "The Seventh Cross is a memorable book, memorable for its story of a manhunt, for its portrayal of a score of characters, no two of which are alike, for the effective reticence of its writing and memorable above all of its profound searching out of the spark of hope in the sorrowful heart."

—ROSE FELD, New York Herald Tribune "Books"

". . . A German woman hounded from her country, 'first for being an author, second for being a revolutionary author and third for being Jewish,' has utilized her experiences under fascism . . . into one of the strongest, most encouraging and beautiful pieces of anti-fascist literature."

—HELEN B. COLE, The Worker

". . . This is a work of art, not propaganda, but its implications for us are clear beneath its sustained excitement, a lesson every American should know, in a book no thoughtful American should miss."

—DOROTHY HILLYER, Boston Globe

A gripping story . . . a graphic picture . . . Affirmative with the courage of freedom-loving men. . . ."

—LOUIS KRONENBERGER, N. Y. Times Book Review

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOLLYWOOD LETTER

Introducing a new "New Masses" column on the movies. The writing and production of "The City That Stopped Hitler—Heroic Stalingrad."

With publication of the correspondence below, we initiate a "New Masses" feature which will be continued indefinitely—i.e., a monthly letter from the capital of America's movie industry; which may be regarded as a communique from the film front. We do not use these military terms lightly. The truth is that within the past year Hollywood's contribution to civilian morale and directly to the war itself has been impressively high. A monthly letter covers only part of the picture; therefore, we are also arranging for additional articles on various aspects of the Hollywood scene.—The Editors.

BY THE time this column reaches you, *The City That Stopped Hitler—Heroic Stalingrad* will be showing all over the country. I don't want to poach on your film reviewer's territory, so I won't tell you what we think of the film out here. But I do think you might be interested in some of the background material—some facts and figures that illustrate in still another way the global nature of the war and the growing unity between our own people and the people of our allies. It is revealed in so many ways.

The film arrived in the United States last May. (Remember that the victory at Stalingrad, which changed the course of the war, became definitive in February.) It arrived in the form of 8,500-odd feet of loosely organized newsreel footage. This was the work of twenty-four cameramen, made during the seven months of the siege. Three of these brave men were killed making it; eight others received the two highest decorations the Soviet Union confers on its citizens: the Order of Lenin and the Order of the Red Banner of Labor.

The president of the board of directors of the Paramount Corp., Barney Balaban, saw the film in New York when it first arrived. He was so enthusiastic about it that he snapped up the chance to make film history by wiring Y. Frank Freeman, executive producer at Paramount, to start work immediately. The "film history" mentioned involves the release of *The City That Stopped Hitler* to some 1,450 Paramount-controlled theaters and hundreds of others throughout the country. So *The City* is the first Soviet film ever to achieve a major release in America. Remember the days when we had to go to little out-of-the-way show-shops to see Soviet movies? Well, the day has come when millions of our fellow citizens will see Soviet films in their neighborhood theaters. This is one of the revolutionary facts behind this documentary record of the siege of Stalingrad. There are many others.

"In the form in which we received the film," says John Wexley, who wrote the stirring narration, "it was suited for Soviet audiences, but might readily have confused Americans. Why? Well, perhaps because the average Soviet citizen was intimately informed about the battle at Stalingrad and would have understood what was happening when the film cut back and forth in time and space, from the frontline trenches in the city to the countryside, from February back to the previous July."

SO WEXLEY'S job—in addition to writing the commentary which is spoken by the actor Brian Donlevy—involved a drastic reassembly of the film. "The commentary," he said, "was the easiest part of the job." He was working at MGM at the time, and had only nights and week-ends for Stalingrad. Working seven nights a week till two and three in the morning, and all day Saturdays and Sundays, the job took him and his associates four full months.

"We had to take an approach," says Wexley, "and hew to it all the way down the line. The approach we took was much the same as though we were writing a film story. It involved three major points. One, to achieve a logical continuity so far as the military campaign itself was concerned, following it from the beginning of the Nazi drive east from Rostov-on-Don, through the siege, the counter-offensive, and the double encirclement that destroyed von Paulus' Nazi army by pinning it against the bastions of the city. Two, there was little human interest in the original—as compared, for example, with such films as *Moscow Strikes Back* and *The Siege of Leningrad*. This aspect had to be built up; and it tied in directly with the problem of making the action shots—of which the film is largely composed—militarily comprehensible to an audience of non-military experts. Again, to a certain extent the entire struggle around Stalingrad—however much the name of the city has by now become a household word—was remote from our own people. The problem then was not to describe these events visually so much as to tie them up with the global nature of the war."

So the entire film had to be cut apart and reassembled in order to achieve the new continuity Wexley is talking about here. This process is a highly complicated one, involving moving whole sequences back and forth, shifting selected shots from the end toward the beginning and vice-versa, and then—miracle of miracles—recutting the musical soundtrack itself to fit. It is more than a Chinese puzzle that emerged; it is a creative job that produced a new product—a different work of art.

YOU might keep these facts in mind when you see the film and note how brilliantly Wexley and his associates at Paramount succeeded. The stunning use of maps; the sequential cutting and overlapping; the relationship established between the many fronts of the war; the direct analogy between Stalingrad and the existence of such comparable cities as Pittsburgh, Pa.; the subtle use of the original Soviet musical score—all these facts have resulted in a film whose impact on American audiences will be immediate and long-lasting. They will understand the relationship betwen the Red October tractor plant and the frontlines; between Stalingrad and an American city; between the American people and "the men and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

women of factory and field"—as President Roosevelt described them in his greeting to Marshal Stalin at the time of the victory celebration when the Nazis had been crushed outside the city.

There are some other facts not indicated on the screen, which you ought to know, as they significantly point up the human aspects of the work behind this great achievement. "There was unanimous excitement," says Wexley, "among all the craftsmen who worked on the film, among all the people of the industry who saw it. I'm sure that if we had to start work over again tomorrow, everyone would pitch in with even greater enthusiasm."

You can account for this by the nature of the film itself and its significance in terms of international amity. Everyone who worked on the movie—producer, film-cutters, sound men, researchers, directors, and executives of Paramount, musicians and secretaries—all were inspired by the material that flowed through their hands and which they helped to shape in the peculiarly collective manner characteristic of the industry. "They all felt they were linked up with a great thing," says Wexley. "They felt an obligation to the future when they realized they were dealing with the definitive record of Stalingrad." It could not have been otherwise.

AMUSING and pertinent facts: Wexley, who received no remuneration for his contribution, was regularly bawled out when he came "late" to work in the evening, after spending the entire day at MGM writing a film about Malta. Brian Donlevy, the actor who stars in Wexley's film *Hangman Also Die*, refused compensation for his work, too, and the money which would have been allotted to writer and commentator was ear-marked, at their request, for the Red Army's fund for the widows and orphans of Stalingrad. Artkino, Soviet film representative here, received sixty-five percent of the proceeds of the film; Paramount thirty-five percent. Wexley estimates he saw the film, complete, over 200 times during the course of the work; Donlevy saw it over sixty times. Both agree that at no time was it possible for them ever to be bored. Together with their colleagues they were carried away by the material, and felt that their craftsmanship was being challenged in the sense that what emerged could or could not—depending on their skill—contribute to the prosecution of the war.

Just before the film was completed a wire was received from the Soviet Union announcing that 300 more feet of film were now available—showing the rebuilding of the city! (They work fast over there.) "It was too late—in view of the release date, to wait for it," says Wexley. So American audiences will be deprived of the following incident, shown in those 300 extra feet:

During the course of the siege there was a certain Sergeant Pavlov who held a machine-gun post inside a ruined building for fifty-seven consecutive days. His Red Army comrades used to say, "Our Pavlov has a house of his own—no Germans admitted." Well, in the new Stalingrad being reconstructed on the ruins of the original, on the spot where Pavlov held his position, and by order of the Soviet government, there is a new building with a plaque: "This is Pavlov's House."

I feel this is a pertinent symbol of the human fact that is Stalingrad. "Pavlov's house," says Paramount, in effect, "is next door to your own." N. A. DANIELS.

"Seeds of Freedom"

Modern version of Eisenstein's "Potemkin."

THIS department caught two films last week: *Du Barry Was a Lady* and *Seeds of Freedom*. Perhaps the most debatable of the two, debatable in the sense that this reviewer's opinion will be most disagreed with, is *Seeds of Freedom*, a modernized English sound version of Sergei Eisenstein's *Potemkin*, made in this country and now playing at the Stanley Theater.

Seeds of Freedom is not a film to be passed over. The opportunity to see *Potemkin* in any form whatever must be hailed with gratitude. Because the power and great beauty of the original film come through. I canvassed the audience at the Stanley carefully, and there can be no doubt that the film was having its innings. Yet, in my opinion, *Seeds of Freedom* does not come off as well as could have been hoped for.

At the outset I want to make clear that I have no "holier than thou" objection to modernizations as such. The whole question boils down to: how good *is* the modernization? It would seem to me that the first requirement for successful translation from one medium into another is that the translator possess deep insight into the character and artistic methods of the original creator. And next—that he have an at least comparable talent. When such conditions prevail we get a work like Maurice Ravel's orchestration of Moussorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition*, a Lord North's *Plutarch's Lives*, an Urquhart's *Rabelais*.

Naturally these great successes don't occur too frequently. Potemkin Products, Inc., which made *Seeds of Freedom*, is certainly to be commended for its attempt.

The film opens in Odessa in 1941. A guerrilla leader, very adequately played by Henry Hull, is about to lead his band of expendables into an important delaying action. In order to make clear the meaning of the present conflict, he takes them back with him to 1905, back to the battleship *Potemkin*. Thus a sort of framework has been provided within which the original Eisenstein film is played out. At the end of *Potemkin* proper we are returned to the guerrilla band who then go forth to meet the Nazi enemy.

No objection can be raised to the framework itself. It is directed and acted in good taste. Albert Maltz' contribution to the writing is on the felicitous side. But it is in the Eisenstein section (main part of the film) that true violence is committed.

To be sure, the makers of *Seeds of Freedom* were up against a tremendous proposition. The difficulties can hardly be exaggerated. *Potemkin* is a silent film. In it, one of the things Eisenstein attempted was to affect *all* the senses through purely *visual* means. And in this he largely succeeded. So, in a certain sense, speech, sound, are already present in the silent version. It would therefore seem to us that the first thing a *sound* version of *Potemkin* should *not* be is redundant.

But the sound track of *Seeds of Freedom* *is* redundant and literal to an unbelievable degree. Certain scenes—for example, the massacre on the Odessa steps, scenes that for intensity and agony are unequalled in the entire literature of films, are time after time dragged down to a most pedestrian level by the insistence of the makers of *Seeds of Freedom* that groans, squeals, grunts, sobs, accompany the imagery. Mind you, we are not saying that sound is inappropriate at such moments, but not *that* kind of sound.

In addition, the quality of the musical score and the level of the dialogue which has been added to the *Potemkin* section are not such as to have fully justified this experiment. Eisenstein is still Eisenstein, however, and *Potemkin* the glory of his achievement. For this story of the 1905 revolt of the sailors of the *Potemkin* against intolerable living conditions of czarist existence is one that will never fail to move audiences. *Potemkin* is not only a film, it has already become an unforgettable part of history, a history of people's struggle that began so many centuries ago.

"DU BARRY WAS A LADY," from the musical comedy by Herbert Fields and B. G. De Sylva, music by Cole Porter, is at times hugely entertaining, at times rather drawn out and faltering. On the credit side of the ledger, you can put down the sprightly opening and finale, the amusing mugging of Zero Mostel, Red Skelton's apoplectics, and Lucille Ball's skin texture. (The film is in technicolor.)

Among the "get your money back" items are the Oxford Boys, Louise Beaver as a mercenary, hard-boiled servant named Niagara, and the story plot which, for sheer antiquated asininity, is something out of this world.

DANIEL PRENTISS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOK FIND CLUB

ANNOUNCES

CARNEGIE LIBRARY
SEP 8 1943
E. PITTSBURGH

"UNDER COVER"

AS ITS SEPTEMBER SELECTION

A Message to Book Find Club from Author reads:

SABOTAGE!

I am not surprised that attempts are being made to sabotage the distribution of UNDER COVER through lies, threats and intimidation. Nor am I surprised at the tactics. They are familiar enough to a reporter who has spent four and a half years in the fascist underworld. Before Pearl Harbor these same tactics were used to sabotage national defense. They are at work today, not only in the matter of seeking unsuccessfully to suppress a book, but in obstructing our war effort through rumor mongering, defeatism and carping of our leadership. Tomorrow the agenda calls for the sabotage of a just, democratic peace based on international accord.

It is the function of my book to show precisely how the saboteurs of a democratic order have worked in the past and may be expected to work in the future.

I have learned that the thought of compromise is sheer suicide. One can no more hope to do business with fascism . . . native or alien . . . than to expect a rattler to withdraw its poison when it strikes. Some of those in high office still need to learn what those of us have learned in our direct and brutal contact with the sworn enemies of democracy.

But until that happy day . . . when our official agencies have learned the true nature of the enemy within, its aims and methods and ultimate objectives . . . those of us who cherish the true democratic ideal and seek to preserve for America its traditions and aspirations, have but one honorable task: To Fight. To fight the insidious menace which yesterday flaunted the swastika in Bund parades and Bund camps, but today bears a respectable "Made in America" tag. Not foreign fascism, but the American home-made, home-bred specie: that is the psychological enemy within which drapes itself in the folds of our Flag and the Constitution, using sugary slogans precisely as used by Hitler, Mussolini and Major Vidkun Quisling. With our quisling enemies at home there ought to be no compromise but the battle cry: "Unconditional Surrender!"

JOHN ROY CARLSON
August 12th, 1943

● **BOOK FIND CLUB**
112 East 19th St.
New York City 3, N. Y.

Gentlemen:
Please enroll me as a member of Book Find Club. You will mail me the Book Find selection each month for which I will pay the special membership price of $1.25 (plus 10¢ *handling charges*), *if I keep it. If not, I will return the* book in 5 days. I agree to purchase a minimum of 4 books a year.

Please send me UNDER COVER as my first selection for which I enclose $1.35.

Name .....

Address..... City.....

Zone No..... State.....

● WHAT IS BOOK FIND CLUB?

A group of people with an idea started Book Find Club. The idea was simple . . . each month to "find" a book, a book with meaning for us in these crucial times, a book worth not only reading but owning . . . a BOOK FIND to give courage and understanding.

● HOW BOOK FIND CLUB OPERATES:

There is no literary board to make your selections. Each month the "book find" is mailed to you. Of each selection you are the sole judge. If you wish to own the book it becomes your selection. If you do not, simply mail it back to the club in the same carton within 5 days. Members purchase a minimum of four books a year. Members pay only the price of the selection they purchase, which is $1.25 (plus 10¢ handling, postage and cartons).

● SOME FORMER BOOK FIND CLUB SELECTIONS

Only the Stars Are Neutral
by Quentin Reynolds

Wide Is the Gate
by Upton Sinclair

Citizen Tom Paine
by Howard Fast

The Last Days of Sevastopol
by Boris Voyetkhov

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED